

VERA TOTIVS EXPE

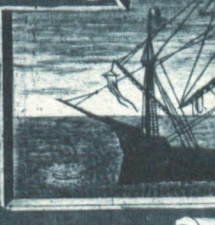
Descriptio D. Franc. Draci qui 5. navibus probe instructis, ex Anglia solvens 13 Decembris anni
terris partem flonim, partum fluctibus correptis, in Angliam redijt 27 Septembris 1580.
Angl. qui undem Draci cursum ferè tenuit etiam ex Anglia per universum orbem; sed mi
quinta Septembris 1588. in patrie portum Plimmouth. unde prius exierat, magni

Californian Historical Quarterly

Summer 1974



Non immerito, autem beatorum navis Flavia
huius usque tabula advenit; potestatem monendi cum
videtur patere, non solum huius magnitudinem, sed
et ad honorem suum, in stipulis illis, angulis prae
in aere & agere et: post tantum deo proficiat
ad munus, 800 miliarium Germanicorum.
Ite pater in Anglia etiam navi illa, perperam
invenire causa, Dracibus ad Tonsil, vult.



California Historical Society

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Reorganized March 27, 1922

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COVER: Circumnavigating the globe, English Captain Francis Drake dropped anchor in what is now a California bay long enough to repair his leaking ship and to explore and claim possession of the unknown land which he called Nova Albion. A decade later the famous *Vera Totius Expeditionis Nauticae* map by cartographer Jodocus Hondius appeared to chronicle Drake's momentous expedition. Engraved in the map's upper left-hand corner is the *Portus Novae Albionis*, a plan of Drake's California anchorage whose lack of cartographic certainty has perplexed historians seeking to locate Drake's "faire and good Baye." An intriguing and lively debate between three well-known and dedicated scholars who respectively identify the site as Drakes Estero, Bolinas Lagoon, and San Quentin Cove begins on page 203 of this Special Issue of the *Quarterly*. Robert H. Power Collection.

California Historical Quarterly

VOLUME LIII

FALL 1974

NO. 3

J. S. HOLLIDAY, *Director*

MARILYN ZIEBARTH, *Executive Editor*

CHARLES WOLLENBERG, *Reviews Editor*

ANNA MARIE HAGER, *Editorial Assistant*



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*This special issue of the
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has been sponsored in memory of*

Albert Edward Doerr

*whose commitment to historical truth was reflected
in his long and stubborn search for new evidence
that would locate at last and always
Drake's California anchorage.*

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The Francis Drake Controversy; His California Anchorage, June 17-July 23, 1579: An Introductory Perspective

J. S. HOLLIDAY

Director of the California Historical Society

DAMNED AS A "MASTER THIEF" by the Spanish whose empire he had tormented by attacks on their Caribbean possessions and treasure ships, Captain Francis Drake in December, 1577, sailed from England on a voyage that would be remembered as one of the great exploits of maritime history. With secret plans (apparently approved by Queen Elizabeth) to explore the Pacific Ocean and plunder Spanish ports on the western shore of South America, Drake set out in command of five ships. By the time he reached the Straits of Magellan, two ships had turned back, and during the sixteen-day passage, "hell-darke nightes and the mercyless fury of tempestuous storms" swallowed up one of his surviving ships and sent another back to the Atlantic.

Alone in Spain's private ocean, Drake sailed the *Golden Hinde* north, raided the ports of Valparaiso and Callao de Lima, seized a Panama-bound treasure galleon from Peru, and took possession of strongboxes filled with emeralds and pearls, chests of coined silver, gold ingots, and twenty-six tons of silver bars. Farther north he captured another Spanish ship, sacked a port, and escaped northward, his ship laden with booty. He sought on the western shore of North America the famed Strait of Anian which would provide entrance to a Northwest Passage to the Atlantic and England. By early June, 1579, that search had carried the *Golden Hinde* to the coast of Oregon where, thwarted by northwest winds and despairing of "finding passage through thoes Northern parts," Drake turned southward to find a safe harbor in which to repair his leaking ship, restore his

OPPOSITE: *The Vera Totius Expeditionis Nauticæ map of the world by cartographer Jodocus Hondius [London, 1589], one-half of which is reproduced, contains in its upper left-hand corner the plan, Portus Novæ Albionis, which for centuries has fascinated and frustrated historians who have sought to identify its exact location on the California coast. The caption to the Portus Plan may be translated: "With appalling laceration of their bodies and with numerous sacrifices in the mountains (hills) the inhabitants of this port of New Albion lament the departure of Drake, whom they have already twice crowned."* Robert H. Power Collection.



*Accompanied by his navigational instruments, Drake appeared on the frontispiece to *The World Encompassed* by Sir Francis Drake, the second published account of his voyage which was probably written a few years after his return to England but not published until 1628.*

crew, augment supplies, and prepare to cross the vast Pacific for the return to England via Cape Good Hope.

In searching for a place of refuge, the *Golden Hinde* sailed along the coast of California and on June 17, 1579, entered "a faire and good Baye." There Drake and his crew remained for thirty-six days, built a fort near the shore, repaired their ship, explored the nearby inland area, visited and treated with the Indians, and on the eve of their departure erected a brass plate which claimed for Queen Elizabeth "this kingdome . . . to be knowne unto all men as Nova Albion." On July 23, Drake sailed westward from his California harbor and in September of 1580 triumphantly returned to Plymouth, England, there to be knighted by his Queen.

This astonishing voyage has commanded the attention of explorers, cartographers, and historians not only because of its significance as the second circumnavigation in world history and because it marked the end of Spain's exclusive control of the Pacific (English and Dutch raiders soon followed Drake with equally rewarding gains), but as well because of a remarkably persistent, often bitter controversy raised by the question: Where did Drancis Frake land on the coast of California? Where on the shore of the Spanish Sea did Englishmen first raise their flag some six years prior to the earliest colony in Virginia?

There would be no uncertainty, no provocative mystery if Captain Drake's journal, charts, or logbook could be found. Drake presented these records of his circumnavigation and plundering successes to Queen Elizabeth on his return to Plymouth, and the Queen presumably destroyed or hid them, to prevent such inflammatory information from reaching Spanish agents at a time of growing hostility between the two nations. In the absence of this conclusive evidence, knowledge of the three-year expedition and particularly of the month-long sojourn on the coast of California has been largely dependent on two secondary narratives of the voyage, written after Drake's return to England.

The earliest of these accounts, *The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea and there hence about the whole Globe of the Earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord 1577*, was published in London in 1589 as part of Richard Hakluyt's renowned *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation*. . . . The Drake section is generally believed to have been compiled from several sources, including notes by Francis Fletcher who sailed with Drake as chaplain of the *Golden Hinde*. The second basic publication on the Drake voyage, entitled *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake* (London, 1628), provides a far lengthier, more descriptive report on the California experience. However, it, too, is aggravatingly vague in commenting on the bay where the *Golden Hinde* anchored and was repaired. Both accounts corroborate that Drake "set vp a monument of our being there, . . . namely a plate of brasse fast nailed to a great and firme post. . . ."

Another document of major importance in the quest for conclusive evidence is the famous map of the world issued in London in 1589 by the renowned cartographer Jodocus Hondius, entitled *Vera Totius Expeditionis Nauticae*. In the upper left-hand corner a pictorial insert depicts the *Golden Hinde* at its California anchorage, labeled *Portus Nova Albionis*. Considered primary evidence by all who over the decades have sought to identify Drake's landing site, this drawing has been compared with most of the proposed bays, harbors, estuaries, lagoons, and coves along the California coast from Half Moon Bay north to Trinidad Bay.

Ironically, the discovery in 1936 of the most important and dramatic evidence of Drake's presence—his Plate of Brass, "California's choicest archeological treasure"—produced not resolution but additional controversy. Though scientific analysis authenticated the plate as the original Drake "monument" and thus eliminated accusations that it was a fraud, stubborn disagreements persist as to how it was found, where, and by whom. And so like the other evidence, Drake's plate creates questions for which there are no conclusive answers. Inevitably one longs to find those answers in Drake's logbook, possibly yet to be discovered in some ancient chest or in the accumulations of the royal family archive.

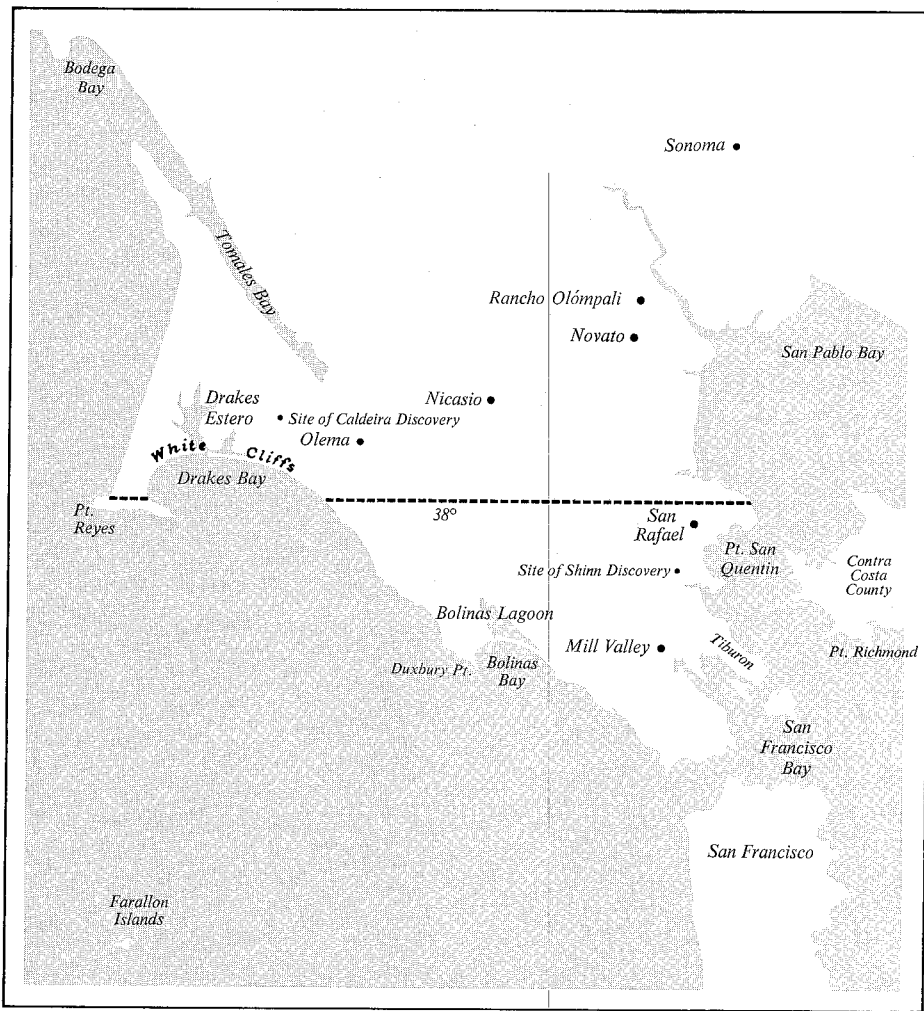
The California Historical Society entered this remarkably persistent, always complex, and often contentious debate in 1890, not as a participant offering arguments in favor of one of the anchorage sites but rather to provide an open forum for the presentation of new evidence. In that year the Society issued its first publication on Drake in California, and in the eighty-four years since, CHS has maintained its neutral role as publisher of the evidence and research of all Drake scholars. The result has been publication of thirteen articles or books, plus sponsorship of public meetings and speeches, all directed to further clarification of the issues in the Drake debate.

As the 400th anniversary of Drake's landing approaches, committees have been formed to plan appropriate public celebrations, a replica of the *Golden Hinde* has been built in England to sail from Plymouth to San Francisco, and public interest, especially in California, has increasingly been attracted to the vigorous three-sided argument conducted for the last decade by scholars who support either Bolinas Bay, Drakes Bay, or San Francisco Bay. Two of these sites have a tradition of advocacy by "Drake experts": Drakes Bay was defended by Captain George Vancouver (1798), Theodore H. Hittel (1885), and George Davidson (1890); San Francisco Bay by Captain James Burney (1803), J. D. B. Stillman (1868), and Edward E. Hale (1884). Bolinas Bay has been suggested by only one other scholar, Thomas J. Barfield, a San Francisco attorney and Bolinas historian, who in 1935 entered that site in the controversy. In more recent years textbook historians of California have generally evaded the question, referred to Hubert Howe Bancroft who equivocated between Bodega and Drakes bays, or favored Drakes Bay.

The scholars who since 1954 have most successfully supported today's three major sites are: DRAKES BAY—The members of the Drake Navigators Guild have produced an impressive record of publications, research reports, archaeological explorations, and public seminars. First led by Captain Adolph S. Oko and Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, USN, the Guild's president in recent years, Raymond Aker, has since 1963 directed the Guild's research team. BOLINAS BAY—Dr. V. Aubrey Neasham, a professional historian since the 1930's, has been active in teaching and writing California history and in preservation and archaeological work. His long record of involvement in the Drake question culminated in the summer of 1973 when he directed an archaeological exploration on the shores of Bolinas Lagoon in search of the foundation of Drake's fort. That work continued during the summer of 1974, with results that Dr. Neasham reports are encouraging. SAN FRANCISCO BAY—Robert H. Power has a remarkable record in presenting his theory that Drake anchored and careened the *Golden Hinde* in the cove at Point San Quentin on the north shore of San Francisco Bay. Over the years Power has traveled far to obtain cartographic and other evidence and to present his case to scholarly and general audiences. In addition to a number of articles and treatises on the California landing, he has proposed the thesis that in claiming Nova Albion for Queen Elizabeth, Drake in effect started Britain's overseas empire.

These are the spokesmen who have been selected by the CHS to participate in an entirely new method of presenting the accumulated and contradictory evidence. Clearly the time has come to advance from the tradition of each side publishing separate statements in various journals or speaking to temporary

Introductory Perspective



Shown on this schematic map is the relative location of the three anchorages and other major sites under discussion. Map by John Beyer.

audiences. While that traditional approach has produced an impressive collective bibliography (see pp. 289–292) and public interest, it has, as well, generated a momentum that encourages perpetuation of arguments rather than a determination to clarify if not resolve the controversy.

Since 1970 each proponent has issued a major statement, i.e., Raymond Aker, *Report of Findings Relating to Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Encampment at Point Reyes National Seashore* (1970); V. Aubrey Neasham and William E. Pritchard, *Drake's California Landing: The Evidence for Bolinas Lagoon* (1974); and Robert H. Power, "Drake's Landing in California: A Case for San Francisco Bay," in the *Quarterly* (Spring, 1973). With these significant presentations as substantive background, it has been agreed that the progress gained makes possible

a new approach, wherein the purpose of clarification and resolution will be paramount.

Fifty years after the first article on Drake appeared in the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, this Special Issue seeks to provide for the participants (and, more importantly, for the considerable audience which has followed the disagreement over the years) a fresh, original method of utilizing their accumulated knowledge on this fascinating problem—a method that necessitates the distillation of their arguments, thereby to cope with the challenge of twenty Tenet statements that have been mutually agreed to as the essential parts of the whole problem.

Following each Tenet, the three participants consecutively present their interpretations and evaluations; then each rebuts the other two participants' opening arguments; immediately following, each presents his counter-rebuttal. Thus the three participants progress through the entire debate of twenty Tenets—persuading, countering, denying, and sometimes agreeing—all within the constraints imposed by the format of the debate.

Inevitably (and mercifully) space limitation required an allotment of a maximum of 4000 words total for each participant's twenty opening statements, 4000 words total for his twenty rebuttals, and 4000 words total for his twenty counter-rebuttals. A 200-word opening statement by each participant begins the debate and a 100-word summary concludes the interchange. The illustrations—ten have been selected by each participant—are of utmost importance throughout, either as evidence in themselves or as buttresses to an argument.

Whenever reference is made, in Tenet or discussion, to one of the five crucial, "primary" sources, page references direct the reader to the Appendix where the full text of the quotation may be read, thereby allowing the reader to evaluate the text independently of each participant's point of view. For readers who wish to know the scope of the literature on this subject and the publications which substantiate the opinions of the participants, an extensive bibliography completes the Appendix.

From this structure of opinion and information, evidence and counterevidence, we believe that the Drake controversy can be understood by the general reader newly introduced to this historic subject and re-evaluated by the scholar already acquainted with its nuances and complexities. As the CHS has helped to sustain and direct this discussion over the decades, so it now seeks through this Special Issue of the *Quarterly* to bring this debate to the largest audience yet addressed by Drake scholars.



THE DEBATE

Point Reyes Peninsula / Drakes Estero RAYMOND AKER, *Drake Navigators Guild*
Bolinas Bay / Bolinas Lagoon V. AUBREY NEASHAM
San Francisco Bay / San Quentin Cove ROBERT H. POWER

Opening Statement

Drake Navigators Guild: The Drake Navigators Guild was formed in 1949 with the idea that several people, each with special skills, might collectively resolve the question of Drake's California landing place. Its purposes were to gather all available evidence, to stimulate search for further documentary and archaeological evidence, and to correlate this evidence throughout the suspect area.

It was agreed that *all* evidence must be considered and applied to the problem by strict interpretation—without omission in whole or in part. It was recognized that nearly all of the documentary evidence was not primary, but that various extant sources could be analyzed individually and compared. It was believed that strict application of the facts, coupled with requirements of navigation, seamanship, and careening, would identify a particular site.

The body of evidence and practical requirements focused on Drakes Bay and led to the Guild's discovery of Drake's encampment site at Drakes Estero in 1952. Announcement was made in 1956.

Aubrey Neasham: The probable discovery of Francis Drake's long-lost fort in September, 1973, on the west shore of Bolinas Lagoon in Marin County would place this as the site of his California landing in 1579. If confirmed, this would indicate that the *Golden Hinde* anchored in Bolinas Bay on June 17, 1579, after sailing southward from the present-day Oregon coast. On June 21, after searching for water and a secluded careenage spot, the ship was brought into the inner lagoon to be unloaded and repaired. By June 23 a fort had been built to guard the ship and its captured booty and to protect against possible hostile Indians or pursuing Spaniards.

The Indians, Coast Miwok, lived at the water's edge and inland. After they had crowned him *Híoh*, Drake and his men visited their main villages, probably in the Olema area. Before resuming his voyage from Bolinas Bay on July 23, a brass plate was nailed on a post which claimed the land, Nova Albion, for Queen Elizabeth.

Robert Power: The evidence that Francis Drake discovered San Francisco Bay on "June. 17, 1579"¹ has a definitive character sufficiently robust to allow the finding that "the golden Hinde"² was the first ship to enter the Golden Gate.

The *Portus Novæ Albionis* cartographic plan will be demonstrated to be a view of northern San Francisco Bay which positions Drake's fort in the general area where the Drake Plate of Brass was found in 1936 at Point San Quentin.

The natural science evidence will consider life zones centering on Novato Valley, an area easily reached from Point San Quentin.

The evidence that a “good winde” sent the *Golden Hinde* into the Bay of Nova Albion matches conditions for entering the Golden Gate on a summer afternoon.

The debate will progress through weather conditions, Montanus’ illustration, and other evidence, but apparent throughout will be the realization that San Francisco Bay is the only inner harbor in Marin County that has been historically used to water, victual, and careen ships the size of the *Golden Hinde*.

Tenet 1

Reaching the coast of what is now called Southern Oregon early in June, 1579, Drake searched for the Northwest Passage. Not finding it, he sailed south some 300 miles to about 38° latitude where he stopped to repair the Golden Hinde. What relevance does the search for the Northwest Passage have to the landing-site controversy?

Guild: The accounts make it clear that Drake had hopes of passing across the northern part of this continent to emerge in the Atlantic above Labrador where the explorer Frobisher was also seeking an opening. Drake’s navigation confirms the intent, but adverse weather and biting cold discouraged the attempt and sent him south to refit for a Pacific crossing.

Neasham: The “Anonymous Narrative” states that the *Golden Hinde* had sailed to 48° latitude looking for a strait. Failing to find it they turned back to 44°, where a harbor was found to ground the ship, “to trim her” (see p. 286). The latitudes indicated, as we know now, were several degrees too high.

The World Encompassed also said that Drake had gone as far north as 48° searching for a passage. According to this account he eventually concluded that there was none, explaining that they had a “franke” wind “to haue carried vs through, had there been a passage, yet we had a smooth and calme sea, with ordinary flowing and reflowing, which could not haue beene, had there beene a strete” (see p. 280).

Nowhere on the way to its final anchorage was there that which would have indicated that the *Golden Hinde* was near the entrance to a strait, namely rough, turbulent seas, caused by strong, running tides. Reaching Bolinas Bay under relatively calm conditions, Drake stopped short of San Francisco Bay’s narrow entrance, with its rough, turbulent water caused by swift outgoing and incoming rip tides suggestive of a strait.

Power: There is no relevance between the search for the Northwest Passage and the identification of the Bay of Nova Albion which Drake entered on June 17, 1579.

Guild: If Drake entered the Golden Gate, he would have found himself passing through an impressive strait, and once inside he would have seen a farther strait leading an indefinite distance inland, possibly the sought-for passage to the Atlantic. He would have immediately started exploration of its farthest reaches using the small bark that he had with him.

These events are inconsistent with Hakluyt’s simple statement of Drake’s being sent into a bay, or the equally concise statement in *The World Encompassed* of falling with a harbor (see pp. 274, 278). Morena’s statements exemplify the ideas that would have been entertained (see p. 286). Had Drake come into the bay, the impressions and explo-

ration would have been documented and clearly remembered by all on board. The discovery would not have remained a secret for long.

Neasham: The search for the Northwest Passage indeed has relevance to “the identification of the Bay of Nova Albion, which Drake entered June 17, 1579.” Had he entered the narrow mouth of the Golden Gate, the “unique Bernouilli wind” (see fn. 11), turbulent water, and swift tides there would have indicated to him that he was possibly at the entrance to a strait. He had searched for such as far north as 42° or 43°. Not finding it, he turned southward looking for a safe place to repair the *Golden Hinde*. From 43° to 38° is only a matter of some 300 nautical miles and within range of his quest for the passage.

Had Drake entered San Francisco Bay, a great inland estuary of the sea, as described by the Portolá expedition in 1769, he surely would have explored it intensively to determine whether or not it was the passage through the continent which he sought. Nothing in the Drake narratives indicated he saw such or did so.

That San Francisco Bay might have a connection with the Northwest Passage was indicated in official Spanish correspondence of August 27, 1770, when Matías de Armona, intendent of the Californias, wrote to the viceroy of New Spain: “One part of that harbor of San Francisco is so long that they [Portolá] could see no end to it; and this may well be, should it have some connection further up with the Great Lakes, or with what they call the Sea of the West, and finally with the North Sea [the Atlantic], so much sought for by the English. . . .”³

Power: This topic has no relationship to identification of Drake’s Nova Albion anchorage. There is no validity to the concept that the Golden Gate would have caused Drake to hypothesize that it was the entrance to a 4,000-mile “northwest passage.” A passage in 38° would have made Nova Albion part of Asia or a sub-continent, contrary to all geographical thought at that time.⁴ A major river draining a massive continent through the Golden Gate would have been compatible with all of the maps extant in 1579.⁵

Guild: Drake’s mission to search for the Northwest Passage has relevance to whether or not Drake entered San Francisco Bay, because if he had entered, it would have spurred him to search the farthest reaches of the bay.

We concur with Dr. Neasham on this point.

Neasham: This topic is of primary importance in the identification of Drake’s California anchorage.

Power: Dr. Neasham and the Guild have changed this into a new Tenet more appropriately titled “Why Drake didn’t discover the Golden Gate” and then proceed to make unfounded speculations. For instance, the Guild says, “Had Drake come into the Bay, the . . . exploration would have been documented. . . . It would not have remained a secret long.”

The discovery of San Francisco Bay did not remain a secret. As early as 1589 Thomas Talbot, the Keeper of Records in the Tower of London, apparently provided Drake documents containing a world map and the *Portus Novæ Albionis* to an associate, Jodocus Hondius.⁶ In turn, Hondius placed on his *Expeditionis Nauticæ*⁷ world map an inlet in Nova Albion extending some 150 miles northeast into the land with its mouth in 38° latitude. Then, to show the anchorage within this large inlet, he reproduced the Portus Plan as a corner inset which, even to this day, matches the features of northern San Francisco Bay, including Belvedere, Tiburon, and the Contra Costa shore

Tenet 2

Several early accounts of the Drake voyage report conflicting latitude designations for Drake's landing site. How are these to be reconciled with the proposed landing site?

Guild: Despite statements made in various accounts that Drake landed between 44° N and 48° N, study of the various latitudes shows that relaxation of secrecy surrounding Drake's voyage reduced the published latitude to 38°. Point Reyes lies at 38° 00' N and the Drakes Estero encampment site at 38° 02' N.

Neasham: Various latitudes are mentioned for Drake's anchorage in California. The "Anonymous Narrative" indicated 44°. The 38° 30' of *The World Encompassed*, if correct, would place it in the vicinity of Bodega Bay. Most authorities today accept 38°, essentially as given in Hakluyt's account. This line runs through Drakes Bay near Point Reyes and the northern part of San Francisco Bay. However, a true interpretation of the wording in Hakluyt's account "within 38 degrees towards the line" (sec p. 274), would place the anchorage below and south of 38°, towards the equator. The only plausible anchorage for Drake within this range would be Bolinas Bay, which lies at about 37° 54'. Bolinas Lagoon, its inner harbor, is about 37° 55'.

Power: The first published account of Drake's landing in Nova Albion (Hakluyt's *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, published in 1589), states that the "faire and good Baye" was in 38°. This has proved to be the correct latitude. In this approximate latitude are "the white bankes and cliffes [of Point Reyes] which lie towards the sea" (sec p. 276); the Coast Miwok Indians who spoke the language recorded in the "Maddox Diary";⁹ the Shinn discovery near Point San Quentin of the Plate of Brass; and a fair orientation of the *Portus Novæ Albionis* and the Montanus illustration (sec p. 259) with existing geographic features in northern San Francisco Bay. This collaborative evidence focuses attention on Point San Quentin on San Francisco Bay which is situated only 3.5 nautical miles south of the 38th parallel.

Guild: Comparison of all latitudes given in the voyage accounts with actual latitudes shows about 16 minutes average error either side of true latitude. Latitude 38° limits the area of search for the landing site to a small distance north or south but does not pinpoint the site.

We can not agree with Dr. Neasham's view that Hakluyt, by stating "within 38. degrees towards the line," meant that Drake was somewhat south of 38°. The context is that Drake simply "drew back againe" toward the equator, or line, from his landfall, not that he landed an unspecified number of minutes south of 38°.

At Drake's anchorage, Dudley Manuscript Chart No. 85 (see p. 265) shows the first sounding slightly north of 38°, his *La Punta* at 38° 06', and *Por:to boniss.mo* at 38° 15'. In his *Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale* (see p. 212), the northern part of the anchorage is in exactly 38°. In his text, Dudley gives 38° as the latitude of Drake's port.

Neasham: Drake's landing was "within 38 degrees towards the line." As San Francisco Bay, in the estimation of this writer, can be eliminated (despite the fact that Point San Quentin is at 37° 57'), the only plausible site for the landing is at Bolinas Bay at 37° 55'. The so-called Drake's Cove at the west side of the estero entrance at Drakes Bay is above 38°. Only the traditional site chosen by George Davidson on the lee side of Point Reyes fits the requirements of "within 38 degrees towards the line." That site was eliminated archeologically by Dr. Heizer and this writer in 1948.

Power: For Dr. Neasham to make the statement, “The only plausible anchorage for Drake within this range [*i.e.*, south of 38°] would be Bolinas Bay, which lies at about 37° 54’,” is deceptive. San Francisco Bay in the exact same range is *prima facie* a plausible anchorage.

Guild: See our statement and first response.

Neasham: During the sixteenth century, latitudes along the California coast often were given as several minutes or more too high or too low, largely because the sightings usually were made aboard ship. On land, under more stable conditions, it was a different matter. Drake, ashore at Bolinas Lagoon for almost five weeks, had ample time to obtain accurate readings of his instruments.

Dudley’s 37° 50’+ for Drake’s anchorage, as shown in his *Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale*, was correct. He had every opportunity to have had the proper information, having known Drake. Also, Dudley’s brother-in-law, Thomas Cavendish, who followed Drake as far as Lower California in 1587, must have had Drake’s charts to have completed his voyage around the world. Dudley, the executor of Cavendish’s estate, had ready access to his records and charts.

Power: No meaningful differential.

Tenet 3

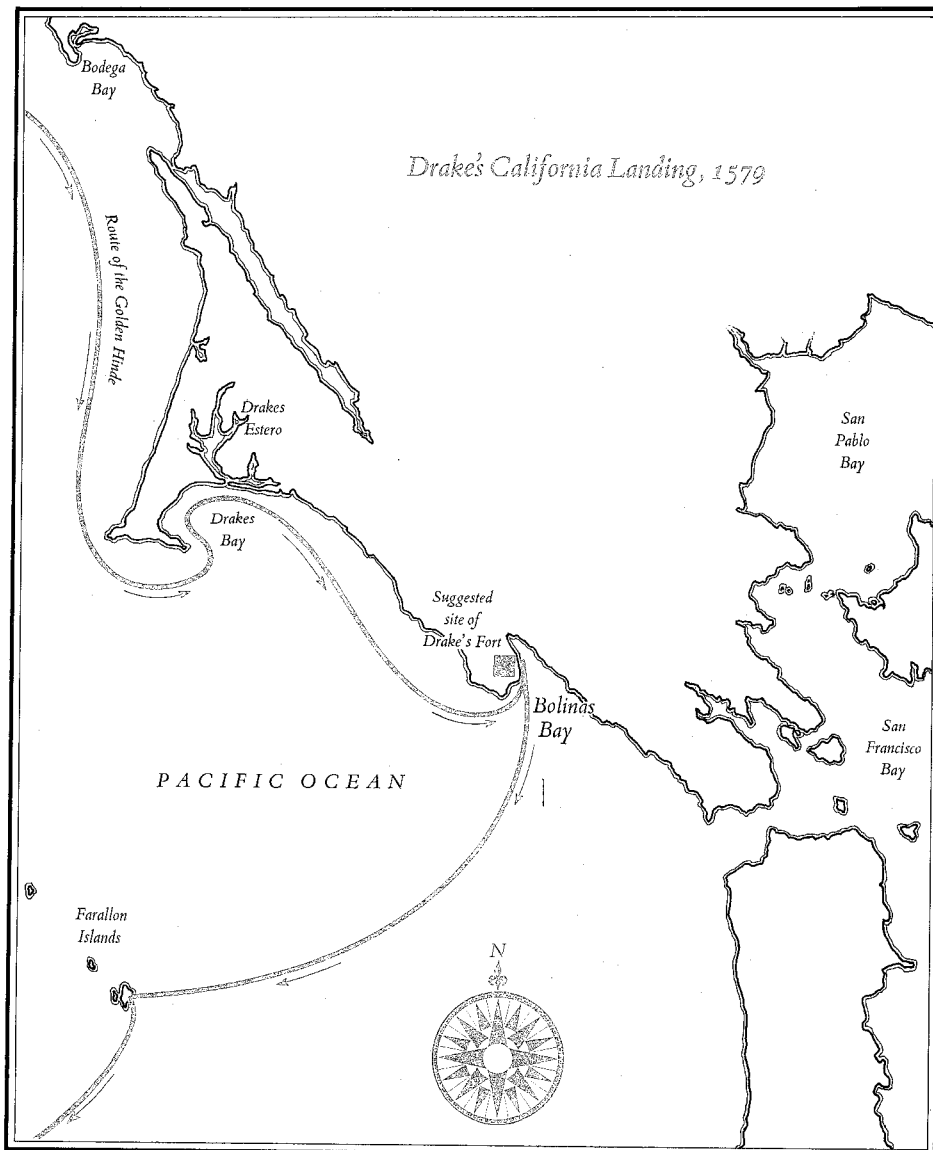
Drake discovered “white bancks and cliffes, which lie toward the sea” rimming what is today called Drakes Bay on the south side of Point Reyes (see p. 201). They reminded him of old England (Albion) and inspired the name Nova Albion. What course did Drake follow after sighting the remarkable coastal formation?

Guild: Drake was searching for a harbor. Hakluyt’s *Famous Voyage*, inserted into *The Principall Navigations*, states that in the height of 38° it pleased God to send him into a “faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the same” (see p. 274). Purposefully, Drake would have stayed close to Point Reyes on an easterly course to take advantage of possible anchorage under its shelter. When the white cliffs were sighted, he had inadvertently entered the mouth of Drakes Bay, sent in, as it were, by godsend. Drakes Estero to the north could not have failed to attract Drake’s attention as a possible harbor and source of fresh water, and a change of course and single tack with the prevailing westerly wind, the “good winde,” would have brought him to the mouth of the estero. His ship’s boat would soon find the entering channel, and a flood tide near high water could have allowed the ship to kedge to an inner anchorage on the day of arrival at the site.

Neasham: According to Hakluyt’s *Famous Voyage* the *Golden Hinde* sailed southward down the coast of California from southern Oregon, until on June 17 it came “within 38 degrees towards the line” (see p. 274). After passing Point Reyes, the ship then followed generally an east-southeast course to what is now Bolinas Bay, with a northwest wind “to enter the same.” From a position just south of Point Reyes, the white cliffs of Drakes Bay facing towards the sea, reminiscent of those of Albion (England), were clearly observable to the northeast about five miles away.

Power: Drake was sailing under a cloud of discouragement on June 17, 1579. He had failed to find a northwest passage, his ship leaked, water and provisions were in short supply, and, in over 400 miles of exploration, the coast had not yielded a suitable anchorage.

But signs of good fortune came in fast succession on June 17, 1579. The *Golden Hinde* and the smaller pinnace which Drake had captured in Mexico rounded Point Reyes, then sailed eastward across Drakes Bay to again engage the coast; on the port side were white cliffs reflecting the morning light with a geological form amazingly like the white cliffs of England. Insignificant from the sea was the entrance to Drakes Estero which is "generally marked by breakers on either hand."¹⁰ The coast continued bold past Double Point, Bolinas, and Mount Tamalpais. Then the Golden Gate came into view, and the unique bernoulli¹¹ wind "sent" (see p. 274) the expedition into that waterway. The captured pinnace served as a pilot for hidden dangers so Drake was able to progress with safety into San Francisco Bay. The bernoulli wind's principal force turns northward and so sailed the *Golden Hinde* into Raccoon Strait, where the ship was anchored that evening in the lee of Angel Island.

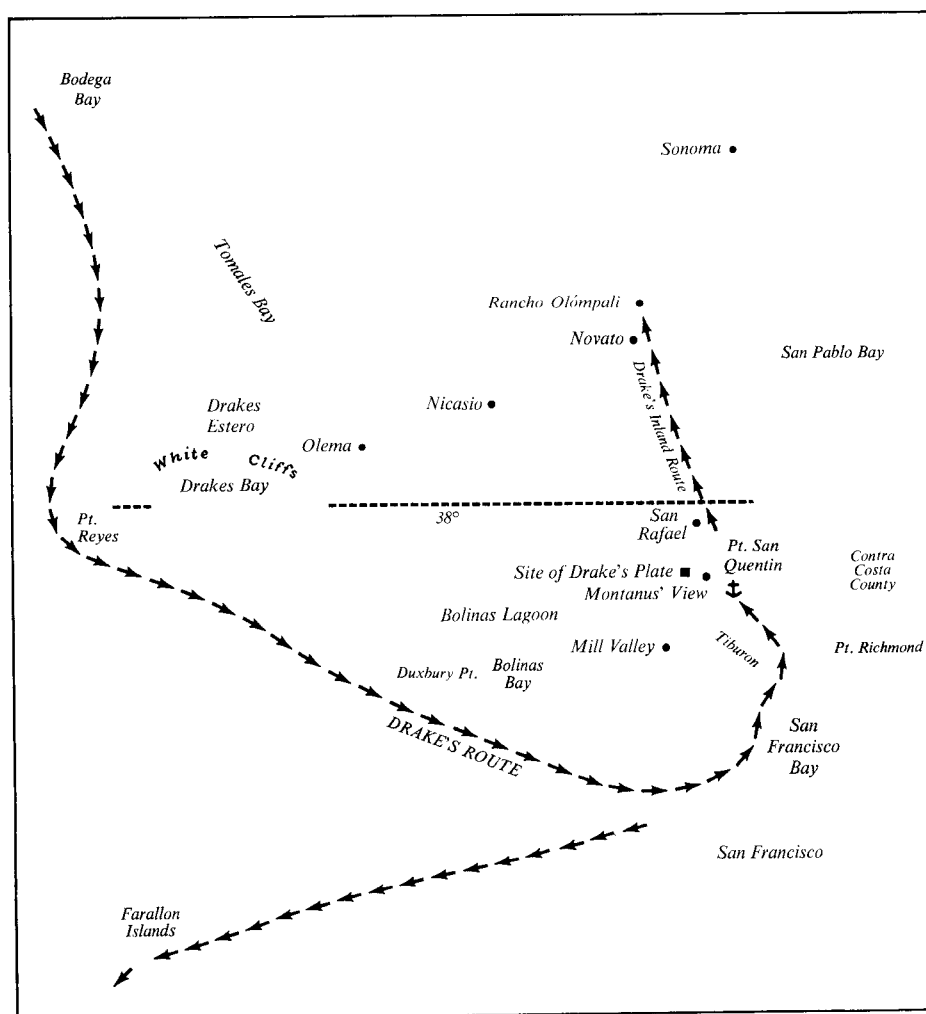


Guild: The white cliffs of Drakes Bay lie for the most part inside Point Reyes on the west side of the bay, and if Drake saw them close enough to inspire recollections of Albion, he also saw the sweep of the bay. Experience at sea has demonstrated that Drakes Estero is easily seen outside Drakes Bay. At this time, it would not have been cliffs that interested Drake, but the bay and estuary for which he had urgent need and had diligently searched along 350 miles of hostile coast. Why pass these by without examination when nothing better was in sight?

Breakers did not deter Drake from entering Port San Julian, an estuary similar to Drakes Estero facing the sea, and he entered that port the same day he found it. Mr. Power cites Davidson's mention of breakers at Drakes Estero, but they were not *in* the entrance; omitted is the information that "coasters can enter with the prevailing north-west wind."¹² Francisco de Bolaños, who was with both Cermeño and Vizcaino, wrote, "An *estero* enters with a very good mouth without breakers."¹³

With a ship of *Golden Hinde*'s draft, to be sent into the unknown Golden Gate with a strong wind from astern, as Mr. Power believes Drake entered, is to court disaster,

POWER: *Drake's discoveries in present Marin County ranged from the white cliffs through the Golden Gate to a San Francisco Bay anchorage which corresponds to the Portus Plan. "Inland" was Novato, a valley of "fruitful soil."* Map by John Beyer.



even with the “pinnacle” going ahead as pilot. If hidden dangers lie ahead, there is the problem of avoiding being driven onto them, let alone the problem of getting out again if necessary. With so much at stake, it is more likely that the “pinnacle” would be sent in beforehand and *Golden Hinde* not enter until it returned some time later on an ebb tide.

Bolinas Bay cannot be entered in Hakluyt’s sense of being sent in as by godsend. Coming from the north, one must pass outside of Duxbury Reef projecting 1.2 miles southeast of Duxbury Point on the west side of the bay. Clearing this reef, the course for the entrance to Bolinas Lagoon is northerly rather than northeasterly as shown by Dudley.

Neasham: Sailing on generally a south-southeast course to Bolinas Bay, after rounding Point Reyes, Drake would have had a good view of Drakes Bay and its two possible careening sites on the lee side of Point Reyes and at the estero entrance. He even may have altered his course somewhat to look at them. Apparently, neither spot fitted his requirements. Going on to the indentation marked by Bolinas Bay, which was visible, he anchored some distance off shore. He did not enter the inner harbor on the day of arrival, June 17. *The World Encompassed* makes it clear that the *Golden Hinde* was not brought to its final anchorage until June 21.

Power: The Guild is unable to make the statements given in the written accounts which bear on this Tenet fit the geography of Point Reyes. They allege that Drake closely rounded Point Reyes and “when the white cliffs were sighted he had inadvertently entered the mouth of Drakes Bay, sent in, as it were, by godsend.”

This paraphrasing of Hakluyt’s account is in conflict with the original source because when the white cliffs are mentioned in that text, the body of water in front of the white cliffs is described as “the sea.” To the Elizabethans Drakes Bay was part of the ocean, and it has no definable “mouth.”

Then, the Guild asserts “Drakes Estero to the north could not have failed to attract Drake’s attention as a possible harbor.” In rebuttal I cite George W. Davidson’s 1887 opinion: “[Drake] . . . could not have detected the entrance [to Drakes Estero] from his vessel.”¹⁴ The Guild’s suggestion that the *Golden Hinde* kedged into an inner anchorage is in conflict with Hakluyt’s account which said the anchorage was entered with a “good winde.”

Bolinas Bay is even more a part of the ocean than Drakes Bay. It, too, has no mouth to enter; it is neither fit, convenient, fair, nor a good “Baye/harborough.”

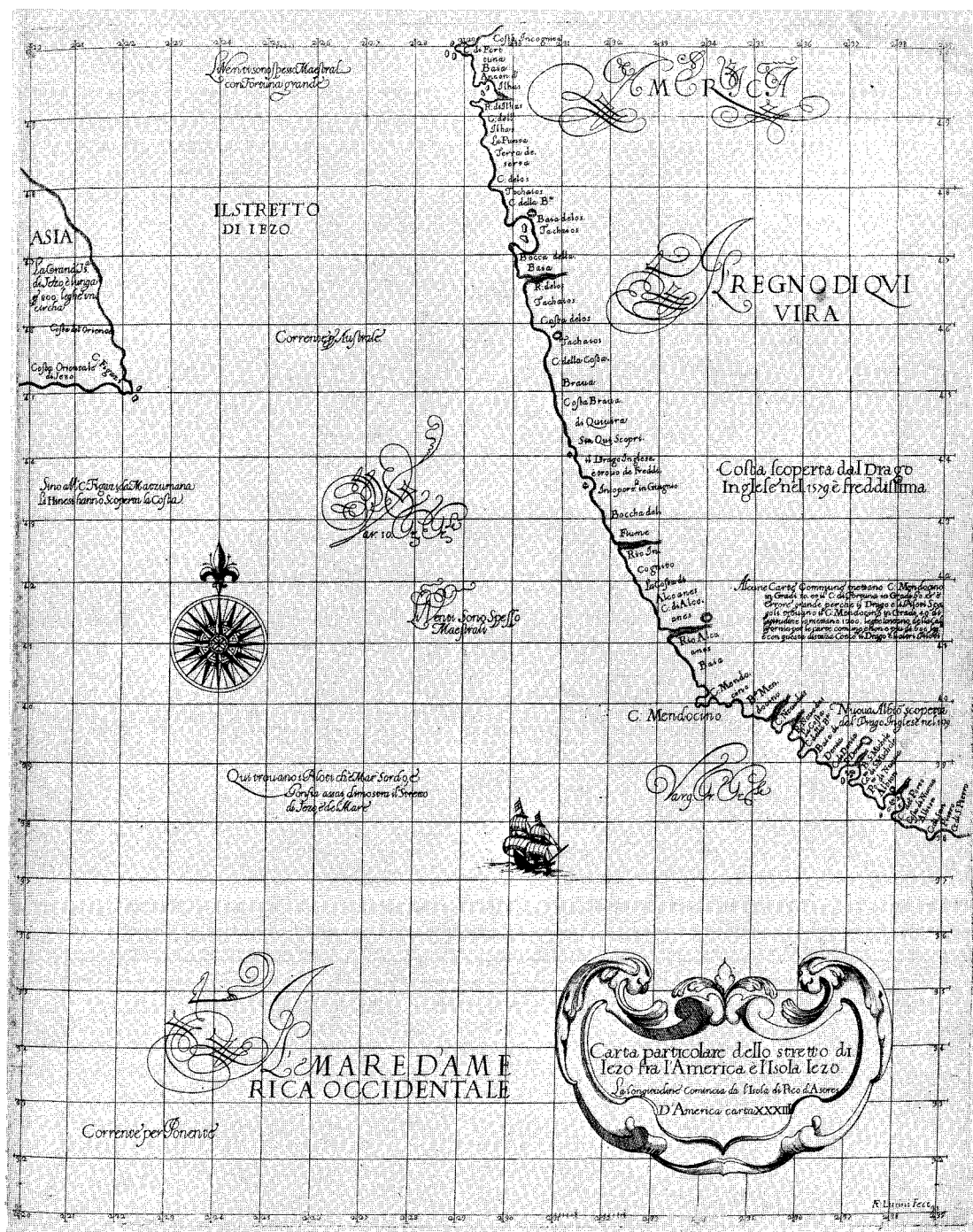
Guild: Drakes Bay lies inside a line from the east end of Point Reyes to Double Point. Sailing east under Point Reyes, there is no indication of the inner bay until the east end of the point is cleared, at which time one is in the bay, a factor that has the element of surprise—to Drake, a godsend. From the bay, he would have sought anchorage off Drakes Estero and sent his boat in for soundings.

Davidson’s statement is no more than an opinion. This writer first saw the estero and entrance May 14, 1949, at 6.5 miles from the bridge of a ship¹⁵ on course from the Light Ship to Point Reyes from a height equivalent to a lookout’s post in the *Golden Hinde*’s tops. The ability to see the estero from outside the bay was further tested and proved a few years ago by the Guild in a 53-foot motorsailer.

Bolinas Bay is insignificant from seaward and lacks the element of surprise on entering, as one must navigate into this bay from the north with full awareness of the outlying hazards.

Neasham: Bolinas Bay, an indentation easily seen after rounding Point Reyes, was a

The Debate



Tenet 4

Identify the “faire and good Baye” (see p. 274) mentioned in Richard Hakluyt’s accounts and the “conuenient and fit harborough” (see p. 278) described in *The World Encompassed*.

Guild: The accounts imply both a bay and a harbor where Drake landed, but that they were not one and the same is shown by Robert Dudley’s Manuscript Chart No. 85 which shows a bay with an inner waterway labeled *Il Por:to boniss.mo* (“the best of ports”).

Drakes Bay in fact meets the criteria of Hakluyt’s “faire and good Baye,” “faire” meaning attractive and impressive. It is good in the nautical sense of having no dangers to navigation and providing good shelter and good holding ground with reasonable depths for anchoring.

Drakes Estero is a harbor and was so used by small vessels into the 1920’s. For Drake’s purposes, “conuenient and fit” would have referred to the inner cove suitable for careening, ready access to the sea, an adjacent beach where fort and camp were close to the careening site, a fresh-water spring nearby, a ready source of victuals, and a site from which he could keep surveillance of the outer bay.

Neasham: The identification of Bolinas Bay and its inner harbor, Bolinas Lagoon, as the sites of Drake’s anchorages is based on their locations at 37° 54’ and 37° 55’, which agree essentially with the latitude given in Hakluyt’s account. Also in agreement is Robert Dudley’s *Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale in Arcano del Mare*, which shows the anchorage at approximately the same latitude, below 38°.

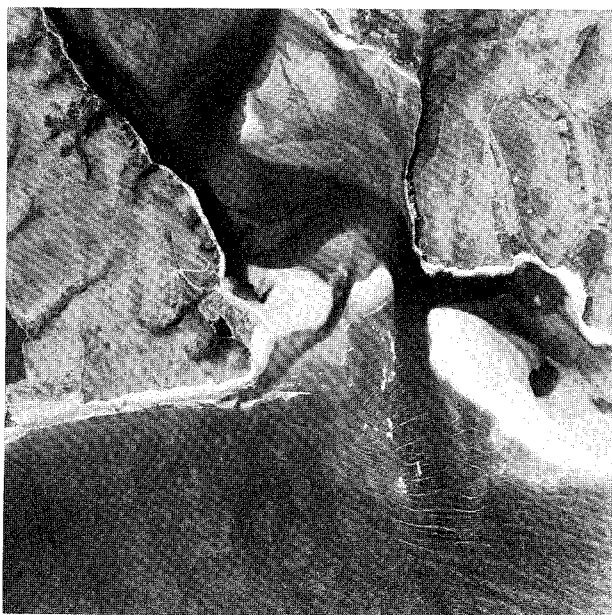
The finding by this writer in September, 1973, of what in all probability are the remains of Drake’s fort at Bolinas Lagoon further identifies the anchorages and landing site. After arriving at Bolinas Bay on June 17, the *Golden Hinde* lay at anchor a considerable distance offshore for some four days. During this time Indians in canoes were observed, and Drake’s small boat looked for fresh drinking water and a safe place to repair the ship. These were soon found on the secluded west shore of Bolinas Lagoon, and the ship was brought to its careenage site on June 21.

Power: The “Baye” in Hakluyt’s account and the “harborough” in *The World Encompassed* are one and the same body of water. There is no significance to the editorial choice of nouns “Baye” or “harborough,” as they are synonyms in these two principal Drake accounts.

The identification of the “Baye/harborough” as San Francisco Bay is indicated by Hakluyt’s account which states, “It pleased God to send vs into a fair and good Baye with a good winde to enter same.” This reflects the experience of discovering the only sea-level bernoulli wind on the Pacific coast, a wind which blows through the Golden Gate on most summer afternoons. The Elizabethans, of course, did not understand this phenomenon caused by hot air rising in the Central Valley of California and, therefore, merely observed, “It pleased God.”

San Francisco Bay is the only California anchorage suitable for careenage which has this climatic characteristic associated with its entrance, and it is the only harbor in 38° which the fully laden *Golden Hinde* could have safely entered with “a good winde.” Once inside, Drake searched the “Baye/harborough” for three full days for a careenage cove, suggesting an exploration area comparable to that of northern San Francisco Bay.

The Debate



GUILD: *Drake's Cove on the left in the 1952 air photo (left) of the entrance to Drakes Estero evidences a land spit and island corresponding to the features in the Hondius map's Portus Plan insert. Note the absence of breakers in the channel entrance to the estero. U.S. Department of Agriculture.*

GUILD: *In the photo (below) of Drakes Bay and Point Reyes, Drake's Cove, now filled, is on the far side of the estero entrance. Note that hills surround the cove from which Indians were described as descending to Drake's fort. Aero Photographers, Sausalito.*





NEASHAM: In this aerial photograph of Bolinas Lagoon in 1953, an arrow points to the suggested site of Drake's fort. California Department of Water Resources.

Guild: Mr. Power may believe that "harbor" and "bay" are synonymous, but in the strict sense, a bay is a recess, or indentation, between two headlands and is so defined by Sir Henry Mainwaring in 1623 in his *Seaman's Dictionary*. A bay is open to the sea, whereas a harbor is protected by natural or man-made features. In England, waterways with a constricted entrance, such as San Francisco Bay, are called harbor, e.g. Portsmouth Harbor.

In modern times, the word "bay" has been used indiscriminately, but in all Spanish accounts, San Francisco Bay is called *estero*, or *puerto*, never *bahía* (bay). In 1792, Vancouver called it "Port of San Francisco" and stated, "we found ourselves in a very spacious sound. . . ." ¹⁷ In 1826, Beechey called it both "port" and "harbor." ¹⁸ Drake's first impression would not have called to mind the word "bay."

With respect to Hakluyt's "good winde" for entering, there is nothing wrong with a beam wind, as in the case of entering Drakes Bay. It is one of a ship's best points of

sailing, and, in this situation, to stop headway either the fore or mainsail can be backed. The ship can also come about much quicker than if the wind is from aft.

Regarding Bolinas Bay, this identification cannot be pin-pointed by latitude. Dr. Neasham has yet to prove identification of his fort, so in no way can it identify this bay as Drake's anchorage.

Neasham: The identification of a "faire and good Baye" and the "conuenient and fit harborough" has been made for Bolinas Bay and its inner harbor, Bolinas Lagoon. The fully laden *Golden Hinde*, with the help of the northwest wind, could have safely entered them and anchored.

Bolinas Lagoon for Drake's purposes was convenient and fit. Protected and secluded, it was suitable for careening. It had ready access to the sea. Its west shore, where the fort was constructed, was close to the careening site, and a good water supply was available nearby, as was food. Surveillance of the outer bay was possible from the adjacent hills.

Power: The Guild is in forfeit on this crucial Tenet. The intention of this Tenet was to match the "Baye" in Hakluyt's account and the "harborough" in *The World Encompassed* with Marin geography.

The Guild reluctantly admits the implication that the "Baye" and "harborough" in the two written accounts are "one and the same" body of water. Unable to match the evidence concerning the "Baye/harborough" to one body of water at Point Reyes, they improperly introduce a Dudley chart of questionable validity to contradict the written accounts. They can make some of the evidence match Drakes Bay and some Drakes Estero, but neither match both the "Baye" and the "harborough" in the written accounts.

In rejecting this crucial correlation between *The World Encompassed* and the Hakluyt's account, the Guild has shattered the policy of their organization to consider and apply evidence "by strict interpretation without omission in whole or part."

Dr. Neasham does not admit that the "Baye" and "harborough" are one and the same body of water. Dr. Neasham in his statement on the immediately preceding Tenet, states that Drake entered Bolinas Bay, and now in this Tenet he alleges, "The *Golden Hinde* lay at anchor a considerable distance off shore for some four days," presumably outside the small roadstead called Bolinas Bay.

Guild: We do not admit that "Baye" and "harborough" are one. Drakes Bay is "Baye" and Drakes Estero is "harborough." Nowhere is it shown in any account that the two words are one and the same.

At Bolinas there is also a "Baye" and separate "harborough," but there is nothing to show that Drake could have entered the latter.

Neasham: The "faire and good Baye" was Bolinas Bay; the "conuenient and fit harborough" was Bolinas Lagoon.

Power: I know as fact that "bay" and "harbour" were synonymous in Elizabethan times. Hakluyt, in the "Catalogue" to his 1600 edition (see p. 276) says there is "a very good *harbour*" in Nova Albion, but in the text he states it was a "faire and good *Bay*."¹⁹ There is no higher authority than Hakluyt on this issue.

The Guild also alleges that an Englishman would have called San Francisco Bay a harbor rather than a bay because it has a "constricted entrance." The Guild introduced Dudley's Manuscript Chart No. 85 into this Tenet on which is depicted an eighteen-mile-wide anchorage with a constricted entrance ten miles wide. The place name given this protected anchorage is *B[aia] d' Nova Albion*, i.e. Bay of Nova Albion. The Guild cancelled their rebuttal with their own exhibit.

Tenet 5

The World Encompassed reported that Drake's ship, "hauling received a leak at sea" (see p. 280), needed to be brought to shore and unloaded for repair. Discuss the suitability of the proposed landing site for careening and graving.

Guild: It was reported that Drake's ship received a leak at sea and needed to be moved close to shore and unloaded to accomplish repair. According to the same source, the *Golden Hinde* had a loaded draft of about 13 feet; unloading would have reduced this to 7 or 8 feet. If unloading exposed the leak, no further operations were required. If not, grounding at high tide would reveal 5 or 6 feet more of hull at low tide, but on this coast, grounding would not expose the keel or bottom. To do so, careening, by which a lightened ship is heeled over afloat, is required. Most important, repair work can be left open because the ship is always afloat. But careening would have been necessary regardless to clean and retallow the bottom, and because of frequent need, it was probably resorted to here.

Drake, not knowing the extent of repair required, needed a protected harbor in which to careen. Drake's Cove fills this need. Channel soundings show that the cove is accessible from the sea, and the cove, itself once part of the channel, would have sufficient depth for careening. It is protected from the sea and out of tidal currents, and its sand banks make a good bed for grounding the ship as an alternate to careening.

Neasham: Protected from north and northwest winds by hills to the south, west, and north and on calm water, the west shore of Bolinas Lagoon, subject to the normal rise and fall of coastal tides, was an ideal place for repairing the *Golden Hinde*. Safe from prying Spanish eyes, the ship could have been brought close to shore here at high tide for careening and graving without great difficulty.

In 1579 Bolinas Lagoon was much more open than it is today. Since then many geological changes have occurred. The lagoon has silted in, partly by sands resulting from mining activities after 1848 and also from lumbering and farming operations above the lagoon in the second half of the nineteenth century. After 1850 lumber schooners and lighters, some said to be larger than the *Golden Hinde*, used the deeper waters of the lagoon, crossing into it at high tide and anchoring at the wharf on its upper northwest shore.

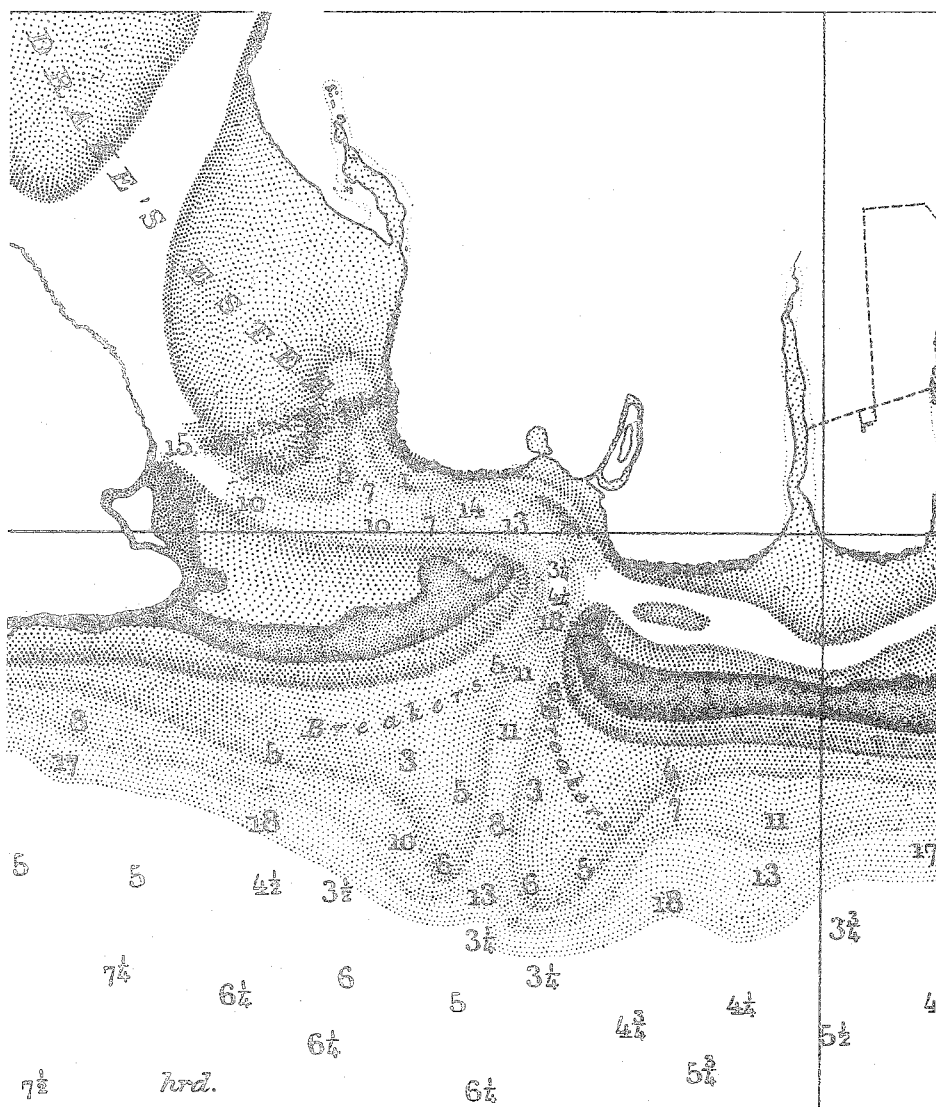
Power: The old cove, *Bahía de las Calaveras*, at Point San Quentin on San Francisco Bay was specifically used in historic times to careen sailing ships. It, therefore, is *prima facie* a suitable careenage and graving cove for the *Golden Hinde*.

This is established by a map,²⁰ circa 1860, in San Quentin Prison records which bares a legend, "Whaling ships careened here for cleaning." The careenage site requirements of Captain Drake and captains of whaling ships circa 1850, so far as can be known today, would have been similar.

Guild: We admit the suitability of the old cove at San Quentin Prison for careening, but do not see that it is any more suitable than the cove at Drakes Estero.

Regarding Bolinas Lagoon, the 1859 U.S. Coast Survey chart, *Entrance to San Francisco Bay*, shows only 2 feet of water at the lagoon's mouth, just as today. An allowance of 5 to 6 feet for high tide would not permit the *Golden Hinde* to enter this lagoon, much less find sufficient depth of water nearby Dr. Neasham's fort where, by the text of *The World Encompassed*, she careened. On this chart we find there only a small, backwater slough not likely to have had sufficient water even in Drake's time.

The Debate

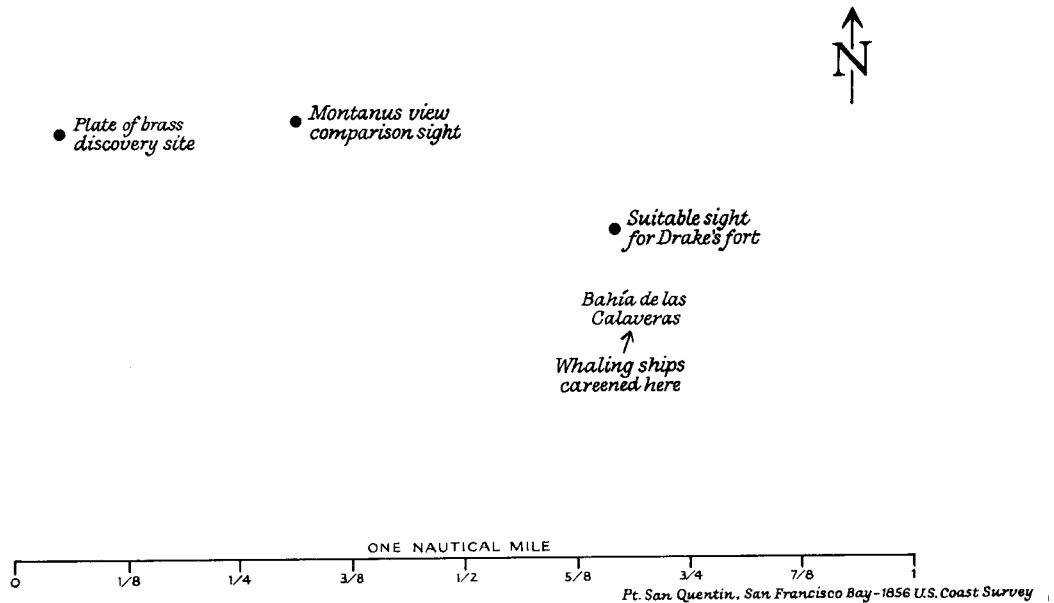


SOUNDINGS

The Soundings are expressed in feet to 18 feet, or within the dotted surfaces, beyond them in fathoms and show the depth at the mean of the lowest low water of each 24 hours the plane of reference. The dotted surfaces beyond low water mark represent the bottom within the respective depths of 6, 12, and 18 feet. The characteristic soundings only are given on the map, they are selected from the numerous soundings taken in the survey, so as to represent the figure of the bottom.

GUILD: In this detail from the 1860 U.S. Coast Survey chart of Drakes Bay, depths on the bar and channel of Drakes Estero refer to mean lower low water. In 1595 Cermeño reported 3 fathoms on the bar (16.5 feet at high water).

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POWER: *The only anchorage discussed in this debate which was ever used to careen sailing ships is this whaler's cove (above) at San Quentin on San Francisco Bay, where Drake could have safely "entrenched himself on land" in "walls of stone."*
Robert H. Power Collection.

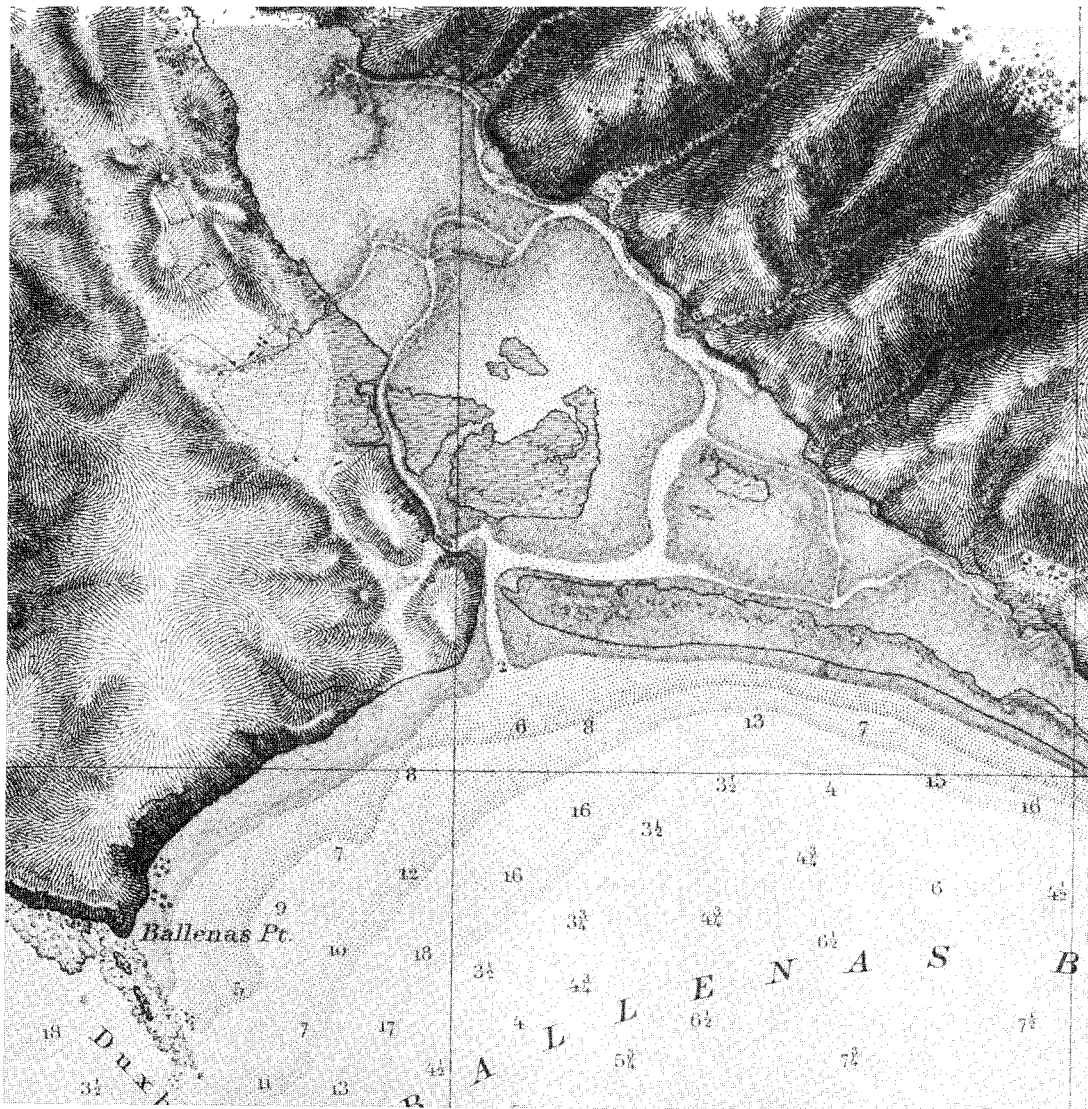
POWER: *The Golden Hinde could not have cleared the bar to enter Bolinas Lagoon in 1859 (opposite). There are indications that similar conditions existed in 1579. Neasham's alleged "fort" in the marsh is most likely an old pond.*
Robert H. Power Collection.

Channel depths are governed by the lagoon's tidal prism, the volume of water enclosed between planes of mean higher high water and mean lower low water, which is the average volume of water that flows in and out during the tidal cycle. A constant ratio exists between the cross-sectional area of the entrance and the volume of the tidal prism.

Because of geographical configuration, Bolinas Lagoon was not likely to have ever had a significantly greater tidal prism, despite the adverse effects postulated by Dr. Neasham, which cannot be verified.

Neasham: Various harbors in California would be suitable for careening and graving, including Drakes Bay, Bolinas Lagoon, and San Francisco Bay. To choose any one of the three to the exclusion of the others, so far as careenage possibilities are concerned, would be questionable. All three have access from the sea and have sufficient depth for careening; all, in selected spots, have (or had) a good bed for grounding as an alternative to careening.

Power: The Guild has created a geographic myth that they named "Drake's Cove"²¹



in order to provide an anchorage suitable for carenage in the Point Reyes area. Today this so-called "cove" is filled with rock, sand, and drift, and part of it has been there long enough that Coast Miwok Indians (Mrn 233)²² encamped on it.

The Guild claims the channel soundings show that the entrance was navigable for the *Golden Hinde*, but their mentor George Davidson also wrote concerning this very possibility: "It [the channel] has only thirteen feet of water on the bar at the highest tide and he [Drake] would not have hazarded his vessel [with a 13-foot draft] in entering such a doubtful anchorage."²³

The Guild says, "The cove itself, once a part of the channel, would have sufficient depth for carening," but they have no possible way to know if their alleged cove was in 1579 a part of the channel, nor its configuration or depth.

Dr. Neasham claims great changes in the depths of Bolinas Lagoon over the last century, but a quick review of the 1859 U.S. government chart²⁴ and 1869 *Coast Pilot*²⁵ shows there has been little change since the first detailed maps were made. He claims lumber schooners and lighters, "larger than the *Golden Hinde*" entered the Bolinas Lagoon. Draft, however, is the crucial point, and these schooners were flat-bottomed, low hulls that could skim across a shallow bars such as at Bolinas

Guild: Drake's Cove is geologically a cove, a fact shown by charts and photographs. Archaeological investigation has shown that the sea has filled the outer part, but the inner part remains nearly as it was in 1579, though today artificially impounded.

As for depth on the bar at Drakes Estero entrance, Davidson gives 8 feet,²⁶ which is referenced to mean lower low water. The range of higher high water for the months of June, July, and August is 4.8 to 7.0 feet,²⁷ which, added to 8 feet, gives 12.8 to 15 feet over the bar at high tide.

As for depth of the cove, that part of the channel which sometimes passes outside the cove becomes isolated as the channel and spit relocate, and thereby forms the outer, deep-water basin of the cove as seen in 1952. Because this channel shows sufficient depths for the *Golden Hinde* and the tidal prism maintains a relatively constant channel cross-section, we conclude that the cove was adequate.

Mrn 233 is at the base of the bluffs on the north side of the cove, not on the filled area. For comment to Dr. Neasham, see our first response.

Neasham: The *Golden Hinde* would have had no difficulty in entering Bolinas Lagoon in 1579, as then it was open. The Portolá expedition of 1769 sighted Bolinas Bay from the San Francisco headlands and reported there were only two "middling islets" at the mouth of the lagoon.²⁸

By 1849, lumbering operations had begun above the lagoon, and a wharf was constructed at its head. By 1857 it had become unusable, because of erosion and rapid sedimentation caused by timber cutting.

The sedimentation also affected shipbuilding at Bolinas Lagoon, where between 1852 and 1870 ten schooners were built. Most of them were 40–70 feet in length, drawing 4 to 7.5 feet of water. The largest had a capacity of 80 tons (the *Golden Hinde* had 100). The U.S. Geological Survey, quoting Munro-Fraster, states:

When vessels first began to sail into the port [Bolinas], a schooner drawing 10 feet of water could pass over the bar [outside the inlet] with ease at any stage of the tide, while now [1880] the same draught of vessel can barely pass at the highest stage; and where those large vessels lay at the [Bolinas] wharf, the depth of water will not admit of more than a fishing smack.²⁹

Power: I agree with the Guild in their evaluation of Bolinas Lagoon as an unsuitable carenage site.

The Guild, however, would have been more helpful if they had shown how Drakes Estero without the mythical "Drake's Cove" would have functioned as a carenage anchorage. The Guild has failed to establish Drakes Estero as a suitable carenage anchorage.

Tenet
6

Conscious that his crew would need to supplement their meager supplies with food and water from the land while the Golden Hinde was undergoing repair, Drake chose to camp at a site at which such supplies were readily accessible. Discuss the suitability of the proposed site for watering and victualling.

Guild: *The World Encompassed* states that the English provided themselves with victuals of "Muscles, Scales, and such like" (see p. 284). Today, numerous harbor seals can be seen on sand bars in Drakes Estero. A few of these could have been taken, but large

herds of sea lions abound on the south side of Point Reyes. These would have been seen by Drake on the way into Drakes Bay, and he could have easily returned later in his ship's boat to take enough for all his needs.

Drakes Estero abounds in shell fish, which provided a large part of the diet of the local Indians. Many could have been taken at Drake's camp, with the boat providing the opportunity to range farther afield.

There is a spring on the north side of Drake's Cove that once provided water for horses bringing dairy products to the schooners and more recently to a cabin on the shore of the cove. The explorer Cermeño apparently reported Indian habitation there in 1595, and such habitation is verified by a midden on the site, Mrn 233.

Neasham: In the vicinity of Bolinas Lagoon, Drake and his men found excellent drinking water. A bountiful supply was available at nearby springs and from what is now McCormick Creek, which courses its way eastward to the lagoon from the hills to the northwest. The many Indian sites on the banks of this rather large creek which flows all year long indicate its importance as a source of constant water to the area's inhabitants.

According to *The World Encompassed* food was procured in the form of "Muscles, Seales, and such like." Birds were also utilized for food, and inland from the fort were seen many elk and conies. The Indians may have provided the Englishmen some food—fish, shellfish, birds, conies, elk, and deer. Bread made from the root, *Petdñ*, or from acorns, may also have been supplied. Evidence of the kinds of food obtained by Drake and his men is to be found in Indian sites on or near Bolinas Lagoon.

Power: Repeated occupation of Point San Quentin by whalers, adventurers, prisoners, and their custodians establishes that Point San Quentin was suitably endowed with sufficient fresh water, wood, and easy access to the victuals of the land and bay to keep the Elizabethans content. Specifically, the 1860 map of San Quentin noted above states that *Bahía de las Calaveras* was not only used by whaling vessels but was an encampment site for Captain John Sutter. The most significant anchorage to its present use took place on July 14, 1852, when the state prison brig was moved from San Francisco to this San Quentin cove.

Guild: Drake could have watered and victualled at San Francisco Bay, Bolinas Bay, or Drakes Bay. The victuals mentioned in the accounts are present at all sites under discussion.

Neasham: All three sites—Drakes Bay, Bolinas Lagoon, and San Francisco Bay—satisfy the requirements for Drake's anchorage, so far as food and water are concerned. No one of the three has special advantages over the others. Bolinas Lagoon, near the site of Drake's fort, does have an all-year stream flowing into it, on the banks of which are several Indian sites. The estero at Drakes Bay does not, at least at its entrance. Corte Madera Creek on San Francisco Bay is subject to salty tidal action above Point San Quentin.

Power: I see no conflict here.

Guild: See our statement and first response.

Neasham: Water and food were available at San Francisco Bay, Bolinas Lagoon, and Drakes Bay.

Power: No response.

Tenet 7

According to The World Encompassed, Drake's men constructed a fort "for the defence of our selues and goods" (see p. 280) while they repaired his ship. Discuss the suitability of the anchorage site for location of a fort and how the fort was constructed.

Guild: *The World Encompassed* locates Drake's fort so that goods landed and work on the ship would be under its protection in the event of Indian attack. Accounts state that it was built at the bottom of a hill and so near that an Indian at its top wearied the English below with a long and tedious oration, every gesture and movement plainly seen.³⁰

The Hondius map inset, known as the Portus Plan, shows what is probably a square fort enclosing tents on the shore, with hills on the right, beach on the left, and it is basically in context with the accounts. At Drake's Cove, the fort was on the beach near the hill that lies between the cove and outer bay.

The World Encompassed states that the English set up their tents and "intrenched ourselues with walls of stone" (see p. 281); the de Bry account mentions "fieldworks." This fort, in keeping with the practice of the day and Drake's earlier practice, was thus surrounded by a trench, material from which made the walls. But sand makes a poor wall, and we conclude that in an area without wood, stones from the beach, which abound at this site, were used to face the walls.

Orienting the fort as shown in the Hondius inset, one wall fronted the hill for maximum protection from its crest. The corners on each side provided cross fire for attack from around the cliff on the outer beach and from around the hill on the cove. Of the other two corners, one commanded the cove, the other the beach and estero entrance.

Neasham: The west side of Bolinas Lagoon was an ideal site for Drake's fort, which he had built by June 23 on the flat adjacent to a hill. Although temporary, it provided ample protection. The walls were earthen, thrown-up by shovel from the surface. They may have been faced with stone gathered from the beach or other nearby source. Wood posts or pickets possibly may have been used, as Drake had done on an earlier occasion in the West Indies.

The only known sixteenth-century representation of Drake's fort is depicted in Hondius' *Portus Novæ Albionis*, published in 1589. This shows the structure to have been square, without bastions, and with walls less than 100 feet long.

Power: The shore of the cove *Bahía de las Calaveras* at Point San Quentin meets all the requirements for the site of Drake's fort. *The World Encompassed* states, "We set vp our tents, and intrenched ourselves with walls of stone" (see p. 281). This "fort" or "fenced place" or "bulwarke" was built by the Elizabethans "to keepe off the enemie (if they should so proue) from comming amongst vs without our goodwills."

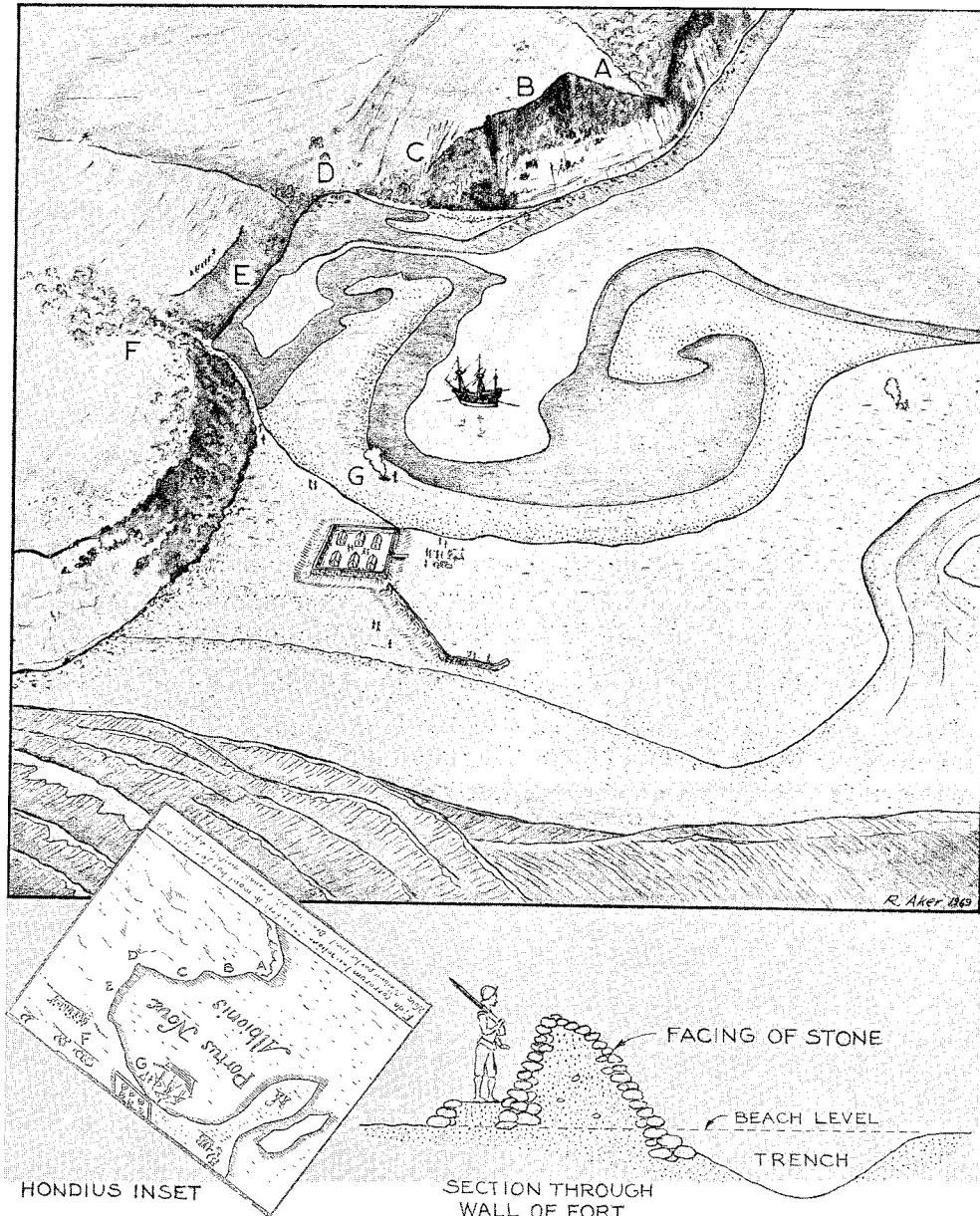
There is no inference that Drake was concerned with pursuing Spaniards. San Francisco Bay would have provided assurance against discovery by pursuit.

The walls of stone are diagrammed as a rectangle (or square) enclosure on the *Portus*

GUILD: *This drawing (opposite) reconstructs Drake's Cove and the proposed encampment in 1579 (low tide aspect). The inner cove has been determined by archaeological investigation. Note where the Indian stands in the water at point G in the inset. Drawing by Raymond Aker.*

Novæ Albionis. An unexplainable square fence or wall appears on the first detailed survey of the cove at Point San Quentin by the United States Coast Survey.

The World Encompassed states that on "the top of the hill, at the bottom where of wee had built our fort, . . . their chiefe speaker . . . delivered" (see p. 281) a tedious oration which could be plainly heard within the fort. This same hill evidently separated the English tents from an Indian village three-quarters of a mile distant. An Indian village is shown on the 1860 map of Point San Quentin over the hill from the anchorage cove.



Guild: At Point San Quentin there was no need to build a fort with walls of stone. The earth from a trench around its perimeter would have been sufficient for the walls.

An unexplained square form on the U.S.C.S. survey cited by Mr. Power does not necessarily reflect Drake's small fort. Mr. Power points out that Sutter camped there, whalers careened there, and in 1852 the state prison brig was moved there. The 1860 map of San Quentin shows a square corral near the prison, and it seems probable that the survey shows a similar structure.

The World Encompassed does not say that a hill lay between the fort and the Indian habitation three-quarters of a mile distant. Because of the hill that does intervene at San Quentin cove, voices said to have been heard from the habitation could not have been heard there.

Dr. Neasham's fort is contradicted by the accounts. There is no evidence of a trench around the fort nor stones, as required by *The World Encompassed*. The accounts state that Drake's fort was close to the bottom of a hill, but the closest hill to the fort is 750 feet away to the south. The site is in a pasture surrounded on three sides by hills, none of which are close enough to have any relationship to the descriptions in the accounts.

Neasham: Drake's fort was not directly at the bottom of the hill. In *The World Encompassed* the Indians were described as approaching the fort for a distance *after* descending the hill (see p. 283). Drake, knowledgeable in military matters, would have placed the fort more than an harquebus shot away—several hundred feet. To have placed it at the base would have subjected it to attack from above. This is one of the factors against the site suggested for the so-called Drake's Cove. If situated there at the bottom of the hill, it would be too vulnerable to attack, despite the provision for cross-fire from the corners.

The suggestion that an unexplained square fence or wall on the first detailed survey by the U.S.C.S. of the cove at Point San Quentin on San Francisco Bay also does not apply so far as Drake's fort is concerned. In all probability this was a nineteenth-century structure.

Power: "Sand makes a poor wall" is an understatement. It makes no wall at all, and facing a sand pile with water-tumbled "stones from the beach" would have added little stability to the mound. In addition, the "Catalogue" to the 1600 edition of Hakluyt's account (see p. 276) says Drake "entrenched himself on land," not sand. The sandspit at Drakes Estero does not provide a suitable entrenchment area for Drake's fort.

The west side of Bolinas Lagoon was marshland in 1859 and, by recent projections,³¹ even more of a marsh in 1579, and therefore, it is hardly "an ideal site for Drake's fort." There is no suggestion of a moat in the accounts.

Guild: Damp sand from a trench surrounding the fort, buttressed with stone, makes a wall.

The World Encompassed states that the fort was not only at the bottom of a hill, but also says that Indians at the foot of the hill were "necre our fort." Several hundred feet is not near.

The fort at the cove could have been farther away, but one breastwork with palisades parallel to the hill was adequate to command the exposed brow about 200 feet away, which could also be raked by gun-fire from the ship.

Neasham: Soil profiles of archeological investigations at the suggested Drake fort site at Bolinas Lagoon reveal shallow excavations inside and outside the walls, the depth of which was necessarily limited by the high water table. The use of the word "stone" in *The World Encompassed* may in reality have meant earth; or perhaps some stone was

used for facing. Various historic structures in the United States using timber and stone show no evidence of such today, the materials having been utilized elsewhere for construction by early settlers.

The hill to the south of the fort site, about 700 feet away, would be the one used by the Indians in visiting the fort. The statement that the fort "is in a pasture surrounded on three sides by hills" is misleading. Whereas Drake's fort was near the water's edge, a 25-acre fill for pasturage was put in east of the fort in 1872, at the time the duck pond was constructed.³² Two levies or dikes were also constructed to keep out tidal waters. Thus, the present appearance of the fort in a pasture.

Studies by the U.S. Geological Survey reveal that Bolinas Lagoon was not "even more of a marsh in 1579." On the contrary, the progression of siltation has increased dramatically since the 1850's.

Power: Point San Quentin with its earth and bountiful quantity of rock is a very suitable place for Drake to entrench himself on land within walls of stone.

In contrast, the soft sand on the spit at Drakes Bay beach would not allow a firm entrenchment.

It is utterly preposterous for Dr. Neasham to have begun this debate: "The probable discovery of Francis Drake's . . . fort . . . on Bolinas Lagoon. . . ." A field trip to the alleged fort site on June 12, 1974, revealed that the excavations there should be titled, "An Examination of Dikes and Levies as Used in the Salt Marsh at Bolinas Lagoon." To associate the name "Drake" or the word "fort" with this site is journalistic sensationalism which might be suitable for a tabloid sold in supermarkets, but has no place in a serious historical paper.

NEASHAM: *This 1973 photograph shows the suggested site of Drake's fort at Bolinas Lagoon. A reservoir was constructed in 1872 over an earlier structure. Photo by W. E. Pritchard.*



Tenet 8

Accounts of the voyage report that Drake's men experienced severe and uncomfortable weather on the west coast of North America. What do the accounts' descriptions of weather and climate contribute to the identification of Drake's anchorage?

Guild: Drake's port did not have a comfortable climate. *The World Encompassed* plainly states that from June 17 to July 23, the English were continually visited there by the same nipping cold they had felt to the north. For two weeks at the port it was not clear enough to take the altitude of sun or star. Reference is made to "those thicke mists and most stinking fogges" (see p. 279). Only the coastal fog which prevails here in those months can account for this condition.

The World Encompassed used nearly a thousand words to describe, complain of, and explain the cold, fog, and wind at this place. John Drake said the climate was temperate, more cold than hot. Sir William Monson said the people of Nova Albion lived in "great extremity of cold." Robert Dudley, writing of the cold encountered at landfall, said of Drake's port that "it was quite cold there too."

Point Reyes is noted for its fog; this fog is well known for its cold, penetrating quality. Here, also, the prevailing northwest wind sweeps across the peninsula and funnels down Drakes Estero as a north wind; both winds are mentioned as "constant" at Drake's port in *The World Encompassed*.

Neasham: *The World Encompassed* vividly describes the weather at Drake's encampment, including the fact that because of "thicke mists and most stinking fogges," for a period of fourteen days it was impossible to take the height of the sun or stars. Extreme coldness was also encountered, which was attributed to north and northwest winds from snow-covered mountains to the north. The resulting general "squalidnesse and barrennesse of the countrie" was indeed a contrast to England and the lush tropics from which Drake and his men had come.

The above-described conditions can be attributed to the coastal region north of San Francisco Bay, including Bolinas Bay. During the summer months, particularly, northwest winds, cool weather, and fogs are predominant there. Modern weather data verify the fact that on occasion from June to September the sun is not seen for several days at a time, even for periods exceeding the fourteen days mentioned in *The World Encompassed*.

Power: Hakluyt's account makes only two statements obliquely related to the climate encountered the day of arrival in the Bay of Nova Albion; both favor a San Francisco Bay thesis. The first was the observation that the "white . . . cliffes lie towards the sea" (see p. 276), or, as an eighteenth-century edition restated it, "The white cliffes . . . are seen at a good distance at sea."³³ The Elizabethan's ability to notice from "a good distance at sea" not only the geographic form but the reflective quality of these cliffs that are white establishes that the morning of June 17 was without haze or heavy overcast.

The same eighteenth-century version of Hakluyt's account relates how in "38 degrees . . . he found a very excellent bay, which he entered with a favorable gale." This is typical afternoon weather at the Golden Gate.

The World Encompassed has a long reflective essay on the unfavorable climate of Nova Albion, but of some interest is the statement that after leaving the Farallon Islands on

July 25, "The cold not only continued but increased . . . the wind blowing still (as it did at first) from the Northwest" (see p. 286). This observation suggests that there had been a respite from the northwest wind and the extreme coastal climate such as would have been the case if they had anchored in San Francisco Bay.

Guild: Hakluyt's account does not establish time of arrival at Drake's anchorage or the state of weather at the time. The eighteenth-century "restated" and corrupted version of Hakluyt cited by Mr. Power is not a reliable source of evidence and should not be considered when the original is at hand.

The statement in *The World Encompassed* regarding the weather at departure from the Farallones confirms prior statements about the continuing bad weather at Nova Albion and merely points up the difficulty of returning north.

Weather at Bolinas Lagoon is similar to Drakes Estero but not as severe. Dr. Neasham's fort is considerably more sheltered than the Guild site at Drakes Estero. Though the northwest wind mentioned in *The World Encompassed* is present at Bolinas, the north wind also mentioned is not a result of surrounding topography.

Neasham: The climate and weather described in *The World Encompassed* applies to the coastal region north of San Francisco Bay, including Bolinas and Drakes Bays. "Stinking fogges," which made it impossible to take the height of the sun or stars for a period of fourteen days, cannot be ascribed to San Francisco Bay. At Point San Quentin during the summer months, fog usually burns off by noon.

As for the north and northwest winds, these correlate to Bolinas Lagoon, where a northwest wind becomes a north wind on being channeled down the rift of the San Andreas Fault from Tomales Bay through the Olema Valley and Bolinas Lagoon.

Power: The Guild and Dr. Neasham both neglected to use the full quotation or put it into its proper context, and therefore, they erroneously claim this quotation suggested a coastal anchorage.

The statement about "stinking fogges" in *The World Encompassed*, introduced by both the Guild and Dr. Neasham as evidence to support a coastal anchorage, warrants discussion.

The World Encompassed states that they "cast anchor in a bad bay" in the vicinity of what is now Oregon (see p. 278). In that northern bay, they encountered "most uile, thicke and stinking fogges." Then, in the long essay on the climate of Nova Albion, reference is made to "those thicke mists and most stinking fogges, which increase so much more, by how much higher the pole is raised." The reference to "stinking fogges," if taken in context of where the condition was principally experienced, i.e. Oregon, and if considered in the full quotation, makes it clear that the "fogges" were "so much more" nearer the pole than in the Marin County anchorage (see p. 279).

Drakes Bay by government records has more fog than the Oregon coast, and only San Francisco Bay would have "so much" less of those "thicke mists and most stinking fogges."

Guild: Fog is worse at sea than on land at Drakes Bay, where it lifts as overcast during the day.

The prevailing northwest wind passing through Olema Valley would become heated and bring warm air to Bolinas Lagoon, contrary to the descriptions of weather at Drake's camp.

Neasham: "Stinking fogges" apply to the coasts of California and Oregon.

Power: The eighteenth-century Drake account is not a "corrupted version" of Drake's

accounts, but a scholarly unbiased interpretation of Elizabethan statements and serves as a valuable historical source for definitions and meanings.

In any case, this Tenet is “sixes and sevens,” as several quotations in the accounts favor San Francisco Bay and several favor a coastal anchorage.

Tenet 9

Discuss the comparative observation from The World Encompassed that when Drake and his men “made a journey vp into the land . . . to be the better acquainted with the nature and the commodities of the country, . . . the inland we found to be farre different from the shoare . . .” (see p. 285).

Guild: This statement is important to consider in the entire context of the account of Nova Albion. What was the difference between the inland and shore? When was the difference discovered?

The author of the account wrote at length about how bitter a place the shore was where Drake had camped, both in aspect and climate. He used, for example, “how vnhandsome and deformed appeared the face of the earth itselfe” (see p. 279) and “the generall squalidnesse and barrennesse of the countrie” (see p. 279) to describe the place.

Then, after the “necessary businesses were well dispatched,” meaning careening and refit of the ship, Drake made “a journey vp into the land.” There he found a “goodly country, and fruitful soyle” (see p. 285), far different from the shore. The contrast is emphasized.

This is precisely the difference that is found today between the Drakes Bay shore and Olema Valley beyond Inverness Ridge. At no other suspect area is the contrast so marked as to arouse comment as that between the two sides of this ridge. The difference is not apparent from the shore. It is a significant key to identification of the landing site.

Neasham: The country north and inland from Bolinas Lagoon in 1579 was different from the shore. To reach this well-wooded area, *The World Encompassed* indicated, Drake went *up* into the land, or north. Leaving the comparatively barren west shore of the lagoon, on which the predominant plant life was a few native oaks and willows, and which is now marked by many eucalyptus, pine, cedars, and other trees as well, the Englishmen probably went as far as Olema and possibly to Nicasio, where the main Miwok Indian villages were located.

As Drake went up the Olema Valley, the land became more and more wooded, with evidence of oak, pine, buckeye, laurel, and redwood, among other varieties. Eastward, several miles away across Bolinas Lagoon on Bolinas Ridge, was seen much foliage. Tree-lined gullies running east and west from the top of the ridge between barren hills came down to the east shore of the lagoon. East and south of Bolinas Ridge was Mount Tamalpais, the slopes of which were heavily wooded. This feature, mostly hidden by or blended with Bolinas Ridge, could not be seen easily from Drake’s fort. Bolinas Point to the west and south was largely barren, covered by dry grass.

Power: The observation from *The World Encompassed* reflects a change of opinion by the Elizabethan chronicler about the nature of Nova Albion which was brought about by a “journey vp into the land.”

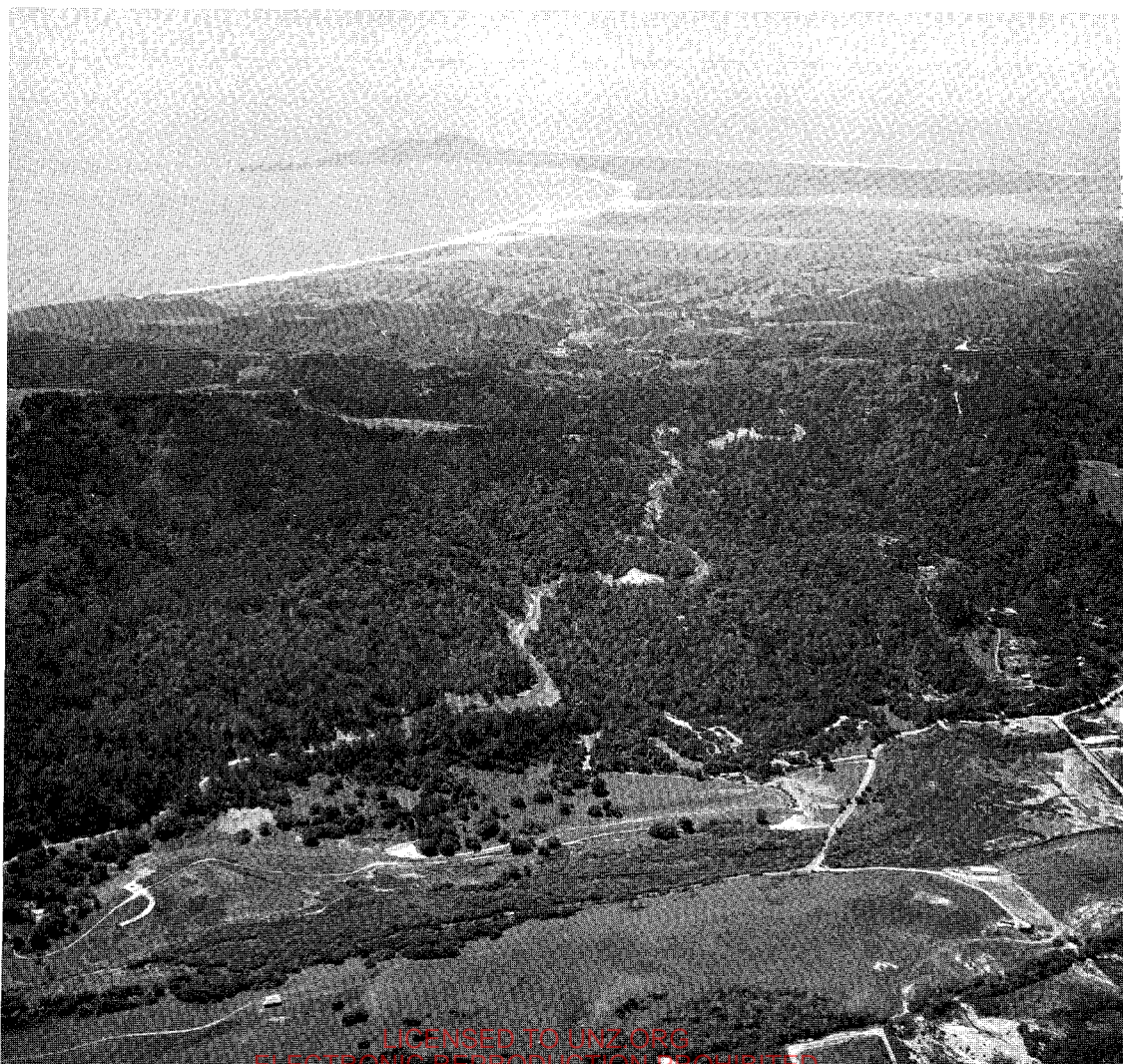
This difference is self-evident between the presumed Drake anchorage at Point San

Quentin and the Novato area twelve miles distant. The Elizabethans on their excursion saw “many houses which made seuerall villages here and there” (see p. 285), i.e., a good-sized Indian village in each valley from San Rafael north. Drake’s party found the inland “a goodly country, and fruitful soyle.” In the nineteenth century Novato Valley was a productive apple orchard.

The World Encompassed further says the inland was “stored with many blessings fit for the vse of man.” Specified are “very large and fat Deere [Tule elk], . . . a multitude . . . of conies [ground squirrels]” (see p. 285) and “an herbe much like our lectuce [American milkweed]” (see p. 282). None of these “blessings” were to be found on windy, unfertile, hilly Point San Quentin and thus the fair observation, “The inland we found to be farre different from the shoare.”

Guild: Mr. Power’s argument that Drake went inland to Novato Valley must be weighed against the circumstance in which he places Drake. Drake had two small craft with which to explore the bay long before he went inland. He could have seen the nature of the land for miles around, including the Novato area, either from his boats or from the hills at his camp.

GUILD: *This photograph of Olema Valley to Point Reyes shows the marked contrast between inland and shore and Drake’s probable route inland over Inverness Ridge. To the right is the junction of Bear Valley Road and Sir Francis Drake Highway. Photo by Robert Allen.*



Novato was not likely to be “farre different” from the land around San Quentin and San Rafael, or any more fertile, or so greatly different in climate as to be *far* different.

Mr. Power’s statement regarding Indian Villages taken from *World Encompassed* is misquoted; the villages were not in several valleys but, “being many of them [houses] in one place, made seuerall villages here and there” (see p. 285).

Going “up into the land” does not necessarily mean going north, as Dr. Neasham suggests. One can also go up a grade, such as Inverness Ridge at Drakes Bay, or up a river, in whatever direction.

At Bolinas Lagoon, Drake’s vision was not restricted to what can be seen from the fort. He had a boat and would have been all over the lagoon and its shores, foraging for game, etc. The shores of Bolinas Lagoon are not the country described at Drake’s camp, nor are the environs of this fort correlative. Inland, Olema Valley is not so far different as to arouse comment, whereas at Drakes Bay when one crosses Inverness Ridge, one finds a marked difference.

Neasham: There is a marked difference between the shore of Drake’s encampment at Bolinas Lagoon and the country inland up the Olema Valley. This also applies to Drakes Estero and a journey across Inverness Ridge to the vicinity of Olema. It does not apply as easily to the area of Point San Quentin. While Point San Quentin is somewhat barren, one would not have to go as far as Novato to find fruitful soil. Spanish maps after 1776 show tufts of wood immediately adjacent to Point San Quentin.

Power: The Guild does not answer this Tenet; instead, it asks the rhetorical questions, “What was the difference between the inland and shore? What was the difference discovered?” But they utterly fail to inform the reader of the answers.

The Guild has no way of saying with any authority that the quotations from *The World Encompassed* (“... how vnhandsome and deformed . . .” and “the generall squalidnesse and barrennesse . . .”) only apply to the anchorage area of Nova Albion rather than Oregon or up in the land, nor do they establish why the statements don’t apply to the San Francisco Bay shore.

On the other side of the contrast, the Guild implies that Olema Valley is a “goodly country, and fruitfull soyle.” Olema Valley in reality is a small 250-acre flood plain bounded on the west by low rift hills with little, if any, “fruitfull soyle.”

Dr. Neasham identifies the inland as “Olema, and possibly Nicasio, where the main Miwok villages were located.” The main Miwok villages were not in Olema or Nicasio, but from San Rafael north to Olompali.

Guild: For four consecutive paragraphs, beginning with arrival, *The World Encompassed* reviles the weather and surroundings at the landing place. We ask the reader to read these paragraphs and decide whether they refer to Oregon or Point San Quentin.

Point Reyes peninsula is swept from one side to the other by cold wind and fog—hence its barren, inhospitable aspect. Inverness Ridge cuts off wind and fog; Olema Valley on the inland side has a totally different climate and aspect. Cermeno’s expedition, which visited the north end of the valley at the fresh-water marsh, reported: “The country appeared to him to be well adapted to sow and reap any kind of seed, as it looked like the country of Castile and was of good character.”³⁴ Three villages of Indians were found settled there.

Dr. Neasham has been answered in the first response.

Neasham: That the Olema Valley occupies only 250 acres of a flood plain would raise the eyebrows of more than one rancher, who, in some instances, can claim the ownership of much larger areas in what historically has been known as the Olema Valley

Rather large Miwok villages were located at Olema, Nicasio, San Rafael, Olompali, and other sites.

Power: Yes, there is a misquote about Indian villages. The quotation marks should be moved three words to the right, but it changes the meaning not an iota.

Speaking of errors, the Guild injects "San Rafael" in the response as if it was part of the shore, while I specifically said it was part of the inland; therefore, I did not allege there was a great difference between San Rafael and Novato.

As to the statement, "Hence comes the generall squalidnesse, and barrennesse of the country," Belvedere and the south face of Tiburon were, by July, brown barren hill-sides until trees were planted in the last century.

Tenet 10

Botanical observations in The World Encompassed include mention of the Indians' decorative use of "a certaine downe, which groweth vp in the country vpon an herbe, much like our lectuce which exceeds any other downe in the world for finesse," and a description of the landscape which showed "trees without leaues, and the ground without greennes" (see pp. 282 and 279). Correlate these observations with the flora of the proposed landing site.

Guild: The Drake accounts make several references to flora and plant products seen by Drake at Nova Albion. None are significant to specific identification of a landing site inasmuch as counterparts can be found almost anywhere in the area. Nevertheless, correlative plants must be present at the site. Counterparts for each in the Drakes Bay area are fully explained in Drake Navigators Guild documents.

The "certain downe" referred to compares with *Rafinesquia californica*, a native species closely related to English wild lettuce, which grows in Olema Valley. It bears a soft down.³⁵

"Trees without leaues" compare with the blue blossom (*Ceanothus thyrsiflorus*), a large, evergreen shrub that grows to the size and shape of a small tree and often carries whole, apparently dead, leafless branches on a living tree. These are found at Drake's Cove and in the Drakes Bay area.³⁶

"Ground without greenes" compares with the dry ground, dead grass, and small plant life typical of this area in summer.³⁷

Neasham: The phrase "Trees without leaues, and the ground without greennes" aptly describes the Bolinas area during late July. The trees without leaves were probably buckeye. These are readily observed today on the slopes of Bolinas Ridge.

The down from an herb "much like our lectuce," which the Indians used as well as its seeds, could have come from several plants. Probably it was milkweed. Milkweed and two varieties of thistles were observed in August and September, 1973, at the suggested site of Drake's fort at Bolinas Lagoon. All three have down and seeds.

Stocks of wood, pricking bushes, and bulrushes undoubtedly refer to various shrubs common to the Bolinas region, including wild rose and tule. *Petáh* (see p. 283) was the Yampa root, according to some authorities, and tabá, called "tabacco" in Hakluyt's account (see p. 275) may have been Jimson weed. The Miwok word, "cheepe," denoted bread made from acorns.

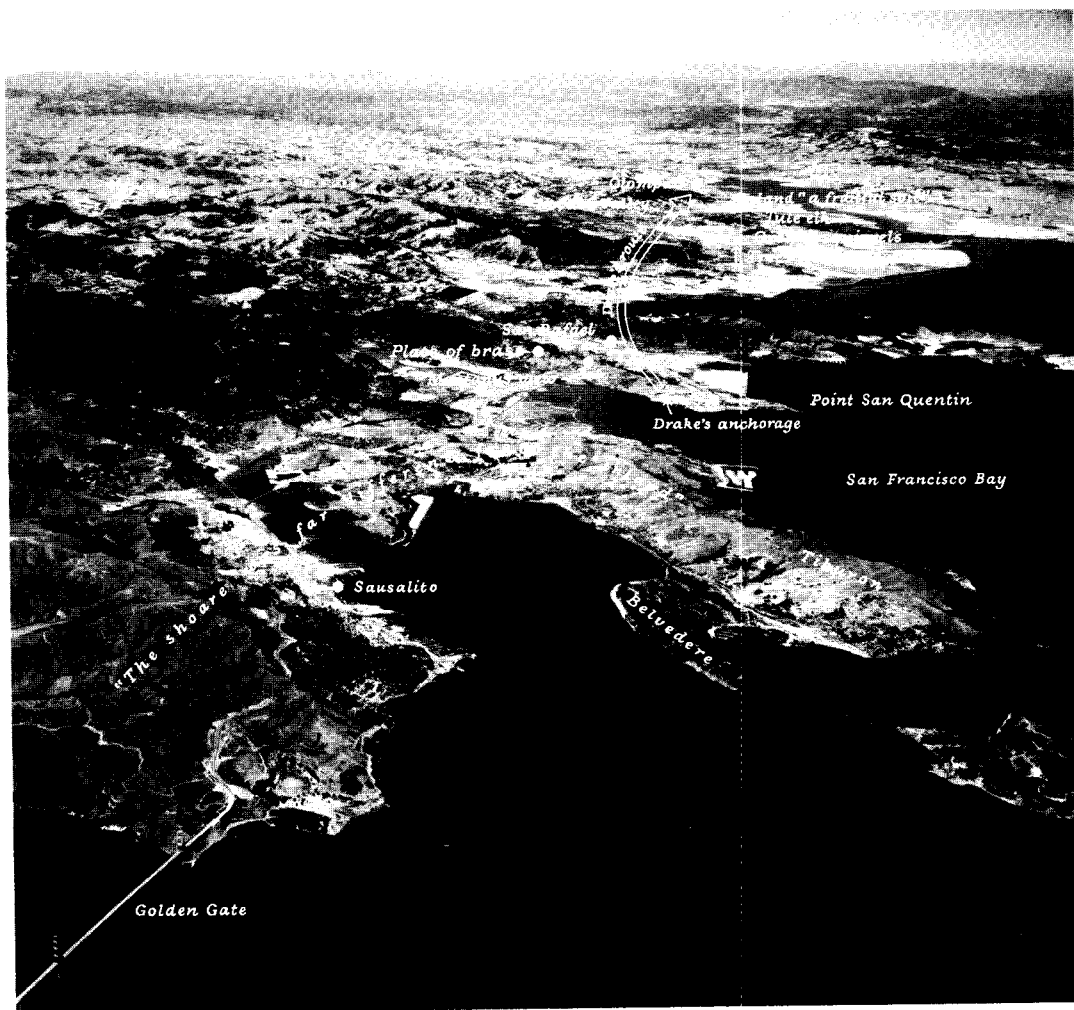
Power: The lettuce-like plant upon which grows "downe . . . which exceeds any other downe in the world for finenesse" and which was used by the Indians to decorate their headpieces is easily identifiable as the American milkweed (*Asclepias mexicana*) plant which grows in Marin County only in the valleys "north of San Rafael."³⁸ Milkweed down has a $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch staple that can be easily used for headpiece decoration. This down is easily collected and has a resilient character like silken goose down, yet its structure is finer than either silk or down.

The unity noted between the two plants is the free-flowing *lactus* or milk in the stems; the disunity is the finest usable down produced by the American milkweed.

The "trees without leaues" are identifiable as the buckeye tree. This is the first tree to enter its autumn season, beginning in early July in the warm and dry parts of the San Francisco Bay area. However, from Nicasio Valley to the coast the autumn season for the buckeye is delayed until late August and into September.

In Marin County the maximum early autumn season of the buckeye tree occurs in the Novato area. There the summer heat and absence of fog yellows and dries the

POWER: This aerial photo looking from the Golden Gate northward to Drake's "very good Harbour" in Nova Albion shows the contrast between the rough "shoare" of the Golden Gate and the "inland" of Novato Valley with a vista from Olompali of the Petaluma Creek delta where tule elk once grazed. Acro Photographers, Sausalito.



leaves that are then blown from the twigs by the afternoon breezes, literally creating "trees without leaues" by the end of July.

Guild: Comparisons of the flora and plant products with descriptions in the accounts are no more significant in identifying a landing site at San Quentin than at Bolinas Lagoon, or Drakes Bay. They are of interest and importance to the site, but each site has the necessary counterparts.

Neasham: Both American milkweed (*Asclepias mexicana*) and *Rafinesquia californica* were observed by this writer at the suggested Drake fort site at Bolinas Lagoon in September, 1973. Both have down and seeds, which the Indians may have used. In addition, the common thistle was found. Thistles growing on middens are a means used by archaeologists to locate Indian sites.

As indicated, the trees without leaves were probably buckeye. *Ceanothus*, with partial dead branches, does not meet fully the descriptive criteria. In July, dry ground, dead grass, and small plants are to be found variously in Marin County, including Drakes Bay, Bolinas Bay, and San Francisco Bay.

Power: The Guild identifies *Rafinesquia californica* as the "herbe, much like our lectuce." However, Richard Brown, research biologist for the Point Reyes National Seashore, has never noticed this plant growing in the entire Point Reyes-Olema region.

The Guild fails to indicate why *Rafinesquia*, if it did or does grow in Olema Valley, would have caused so much interest to the English. They make no claim it has free-flowing "milk" in a broken stem, nor do they demonstrate how this short down similar in size to lettuce down could be used to decorate Indian headdresses. They fail to demonstrate that the down is finer than any other to the touch or eye.

The total statement "trees without leaues, and the ground without greenes" suggests an autumn condition in those months of June and July when England is very lush and green. It is grasping for straws to suggest that "a large evergreen shrub . . . [with] live leafless branches on a living tree" would cause this Elizabethan exclamatory observation. "Live leafless branches" on an "evergreen shrub"? This just cannot be a correct observation.

Dr. Neasham apparently failed to note that growing "vp in the country . . . [there is an] herbe much like our lectuce" because he proceeds to discover candidates at Bolinas Lagoon. It is demonstrably not a "thistle," the national symbol of Scotland. As to Dr. Neasham's claims of finding "milkweed" at Bolinas, he must be referring to the European wild lettuce, since American milkweed does not grow at Bolinas.

Guild: *Rafinesquia californica* was singled out by the Guild because it is the only local native plant physically similar to wild English lettuce, because it has fine, soft down, collectable seeds, and white sap, and because it matured during Drake's stay.³⁹ Most important is the down's pinnate structure that gives it a unique tenaciousness suitable to the statement that, being layed upon cauls, "by no winds can be removed."

White sap is the *only* thing milkweed has in common with English wild lettuce; the lanceolate leaves, fruiting pods, and general aspect are radically different.

"Trees without leaues" were seen in June and July in the environment of the camp on shore, not on the inland journey. *Ceanothus thyrsiflorus* grows to 20 feet high, tall enough to be taken for a small tree.

Neasham: Milkweed grows at the suggested Drake fort site at Bolinas Lagoon.

Power: No, every proposed anchorage does not have "comparisons of flora and plant products." For instance, Dr. Neasham incorrectly identified in September, 1973, a plant

as *Asclepias mexicana* (American milkweed) at Bolinas Lagoon. It does not now grow, nor has ever been known to grow, west of Bolinas Ridge. Neasham allows the “trees without leaues” are probably buckeye, but this also is erroneous since he holds to the “country” being Bolinas to Nicasio, while the buckeye’s autumn does not occur in that area until after Drake had left California.

Rafinesquia californica is no solution to the “herbe much like our lectuce” compared to American milkweed, a popular plant in the age of exploration. John White, for instance, in his famed watercolors of Roanoke, included a watercolor of an eastern variety of milkweed which Drake transported back to England in 1586.

As to trees without leaves, the evergreen shrub, “blue blossom” (*Ceanothus thyrsiflorus*), is not even a worthy candidate for this Tenet even though it is common throughout Marin County.

Tenet 11

Identify the fauna described in the Drake sources, especially The World Encompassed’s observation: “we sawe . . . a multitude of a strange kind of Conies . . .” (see p. 285).

Guild: Like flora, no special significance can be attached to the references to fauna in the accounts because counterparts are so widespread, but there must be a comparative explanation for each. Comparative identifications are fully described in Guild documents. “A multitude of a strange kinde of Conies” refers to Botta pocket gophers whose burrowings create an apparent warren throughout the Point Reyes peninsula and inland. Identifying features are a rat-like tail, mole-like forepaws, and external, fur-lined pouches under the chin on each side corresponding to the “bagge” mentioned in the accounts.⁴⁰

Neasham: The conies seen during Drake’s journey up into the land have been identified by various writers since the 1600’s as rabbits, ground squirrels, and gophers, among other species. They were probably ground squirrels, because of their location, number, and long tails. On Bolinas Ridge today they are to be seen. Excavation of Indian sites in the Bolinas Lagoon area have revealed the skeletal remains of ground squirrels. Rabbits and gophers are also found in this region, but not in the great quantity recorded in *The World Encompassed*.

Power: The “strange kinde of Conies” seen “vp in the land” are identifiable as the California ground squirrel, which had a zoological life zone limited to the northeastern third of Marin County.⁴¹ The “very large and fat Deere, which there we sawe by thousands . . . in a heard” (see p. 285) are identifiable as tule elk. The ground squirrel is associated with warm, open, grassland hills studded with oaks, while the tule elk with marshlands where tule grows.

The only place these two zones meet in Marin County, within the life zone of the ground squirrel, is along the San Pablo Bay shore north of San Rafael into the area of Novato. Therefore, the Elizabethan inland country was the Novato region of Marin County which is easily reached from a San Francisco Bay anchorage.

The identification of the “strange kinde of Conies” as the California ground squirrel is made easy because of the lengthy description given in the accounts. In part this evidence is as follows:

The World Encompassed reported that on their journey up into the land they “sawe . . . a multitude” of these conies, i.e. “thousands.” The Hakluyt account described the Nova

Albion conies as having "the taile of a Rat being of great length" (see p. 276). This new-found animal also had "the feete of a Want [mole]," identifying the Nova Albion cony as a rodent.

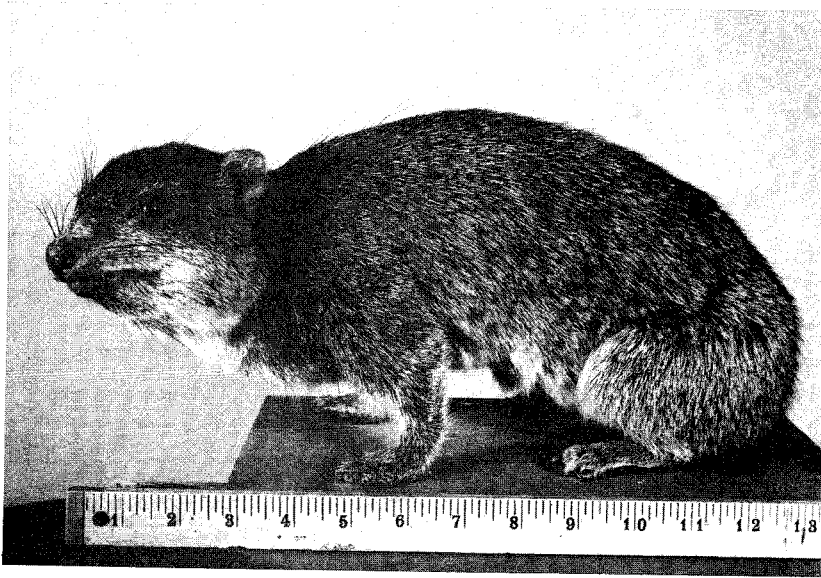
There is more identifying evidence, but space does not allow reporting of redundant evidence that the cony of Nova Albion is the ground squirrel of California.

Guild: Each of the sites in question has counterparts to match the descriptions of fauna.

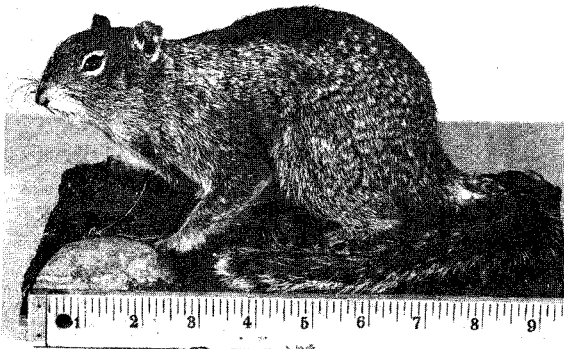
We disagree with Mr. Power's and Dr. Neasham's identification of the "conies" as ground squirrels. The squirrel was no stranger to the English; they were a familiar sight at home, and if the ground squirrel was what they saw, they would have compared it and its parts to one, not to cony, rabbit, rat, and mole. What they saw was an animal that they referred to as "strange," and they compared its parts to animals with which they were familiar.

The key point to identifying the "cony" is the reference to the "bagge" under the chin on each side. This is characteristic of the pocket gopher, which has fur-lined pouches under its chin, one on each side extending to its shoulders, an unusual feature. Squirrels carry food in their cheeks. Furthermore, the gopher has the paws of a mole and the naked tail of a rat.

It was not necessary to see these animals in number. *The World Encompassed* infers thousands, which would be extraordinary, but Hakluyt's account makes it evident that



POWER: Ground squirrels (bottom), as Hakluyt reported in 1589, are like "Barbarie Conies" (top), except that the Nova Albion cony has a "tail exceedingly long" and feet of a "wante." The prime range of this rodent is from San Rafael to Novato. California Academy of Sciences.



what was seen were the burrows of the gopher, which are abundant in the Drakes Bay area: "We found the whole Country to be a warren of a strange kind of Conies."

Neasham: The conies can be identified as ground squirrels which inhabit the sides of Bolinas Ridge, as well as other parts of Marin County. The words that the tails were "like the tayle of a rat, exceeding long," correctly interpreted, apply to the length of the tail and not to its bushy (or lack of) appearance. The Botta pocket gopher, although having a tail somewhat similar in texture to that of a rat, has a shorter tail, not usually exceeding two inches. This can not be considered as long, like that of a rat.

Power: The conies of Nova Albion are not the Botta pocket gopher as alleged by the Guild for several reasons. *The World Encompassed* states, "we sawe . . . a multitude of a strange kinde of Conies." No Californian has ever seen "a multitude" of gophers, as the gopher is a shy nocturnal rodent living most of its life underground. The same source says the tails of the conies were "like the tayle of a Rat [or "cat"⁴²], exceeding long." The gopher has a short stubby tail. The Elizabethans watched the cony "gathereth his meate . . . abroad, that he may . . . feed himselfe when he lists not to trauaile from his burrough." The gopher is seldom seen abroad, as it almost never travels from its burrough in daylight hours.

In contrast, the ground squirrel is perky and numerous, his tail is exceedingly long like a "rat" or "cat," and he always gathers "his meate abroad" during the warm daylight hours.

Dr. Neasham is so unspecific that it isn't worth the space in this limited-word debate to respond to his weasel-worded statement.

Guild: See our statement and first response.

Neasham: Ground squirrels!

Power: The *ground* squirrel was indeed unknown to the Elizabethans. Ingrained in their minds was that squirrels lived in trees while conies lived in the ground. The ground squirrel not only lived in the ground, but it has the head, body, and mannerisms of "Barbarie conies."

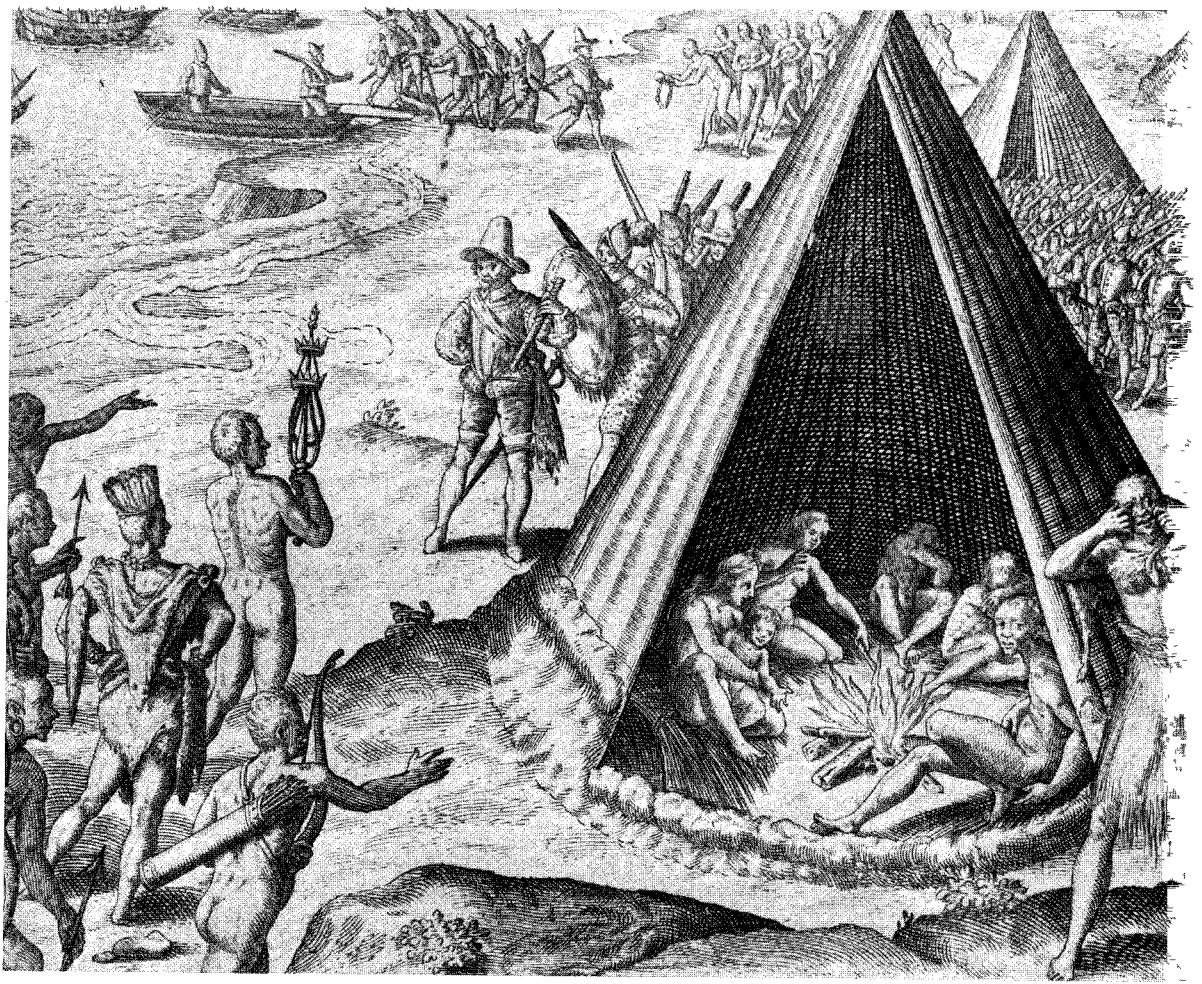
The affinity *The World Encompassed* has for comparing ground animals to conies is shown by Drake's experience on an island near the Celebes where great land crabs "worke themselves earths, as do the conies, or rather they dig great and huge caues."⁴³ If crabs can be compared to conies, why not the ground squirrel?

The Guild's statement regarding the "bagge under the chin on each side" is not a key point. The ground squirrel of Marin, report zoologists, has "especially well developed cheek pouches" which often "seem to be bulging with the contents of these pouches."⁴⁴ "Bagge" and "pouch" are synonyms, and "under the chin" *vs.* bulging cheeks is hardly a "key" issue.

Tenet
12

What is the significance of Drake's contact with and observations of the people of Nova Albion, description of whom comprises a large portion of the narratives of Drake's visit?

Guild: Certain geographical relationships are established by references to Indians in the accounts. At Drakes Bay many former Indian habitations dating back to the sixteenth century have been located.



NEASHAM: 'This 1599 engraving by Theodore de Bry depicts Drake's landing and greeting by Indians on the shore of Bolinas Lagoon. Miwok Indians lived near the water's edge. The drawing was published in *Americæ, Pars VIII* [Frankfurt]. Robert Power Collection.

Specific reference is made in *The World Encompassed* to one group of Indians who watched Drake set up camp and returned to their houses "neere about 3 quarters of an English mile distant" (see p. 281), where they began a kind of weeping and crying out audible to the English at the camp. Today, on the west bank of Drakes Estero north of the cove, there is a corresponding sixteenth-century habitation, Mrn 235, about 1,300 yards from the Drake campsite. Audible range between habitation and camp site is facilitated by the latter being downwind.

Indians are always referred to as coming *down* to the camp from the nearby hill. At Drake's Cove the only convenient approach to the camp is from the hills around the cove.

Indians from inland had to come to the camp along the high ridge that borders the west side of Drakes Estero; it was along this that the Hióh, or chief, would have come on June 26.

Neasham: Among significant factors mentioned in the Drake accounts was that some of the Indians' houses were close to the water's edge. About three-quarters of a mile away from his camp was a village. Inland were the main villages, some distance away. Dr Robert F Heizer and other anthropologists have proven conclusively that the

Indians were Coast Miwok, who occupied the coastal area from the Marin County shore of San Francisco Bay to Bodega Bay. Friendly to Drake and his men, whom they thought to be gods, they crowned him *Hióh*.

The account's descriptions of Indians would apply to the Bolinas Lagoon area where Drake built his fort. Remains of several Indian middens are to be found there near the water's edge. About three-quarters of a mile away, on McCormick Creek, is a rather large site. Up in the land, in the Olema and Nicasio areas, were the main Indian villages.

Power: That Drake met and dealt with Indians in the summer of 1579 is the crux of why the location of Drake's landing is important. The contact with the Indians by Drake in Nova Albion resulted in the first incorporation of a non-European people as subjects of the English Crown. This was the effective founding of the overseas British Empire and the beginning of the Anglo-American experience.⁴⁵

Francis Drake's success in Nova Albion, and especially with the Indians who surrendered their sovereignty and offered their power and faith to Britain, gave to that nation a sense of destiny that North America was a vast fifth region of the world where people were crying out to be subjects of the English Crown.

This grand dream for an overseas British Empire in North America which developed after Drake returned from Nova Albion in 1580 and before Sir Humphrey Gilbert departed for Newfoundland in 1583 was a reasonable concept if the setting for Drake's experience was within the great harbor of San Francisco Bay, but one of some foolishness if the setting was in an insignificant coastal inlet.

Guild: Mr. Power's political interpretation of Drake's contact with the Coast Miwok Indians has nothing to do with identification of the landing site.

Dr. Neasham does not identify the hill on which Indians showed themselves to the English above their fort. A group from the inland, coming from Olema Valley, or Nicasio, and appearing on a hill to the north would have been well over a quarter-mile from the fort and, on descending, could not have been in context with *The World Encompassed* statement: "And being now come to the foot of the hill and neere our fort . . ." (see p. 283). The base of that hill is over 1,200 feet away.

We cannot disagree with Dr. Neasham's identification of a site three-quarters of a mile away from which Indians might be heard, but there are other sites on this creek much closer.

Neasham: Drakes Bay, Bolinas Lagoon, and the Marin County shore of San Francisco Bay were inhabited by Coast Miwok Indians who had sites near the water's edge. In all three areas are middens about three-quarters of a mile away from suggested Drake fort sites. The main villages were farther inland, several miles away. The hills would have been used by the Indians to come to Drake's fort, not only as an approach but as protection to prevent being seen until they were ready to show themselves.

The fact that Drake must have been in San Francisco Bay to insure "a sense of destiny" in the founding of the British Empire and colonies in North America and that the concept "was a reasonable concept if the setting of Drake's experience was within the great harbor of San Francisco Bay, but one of foolishness if the setting was in an insignificant coastal inlet," is an invalid statement. On the contrary, Drake would have sought for his anchorage an obscure and hidden spot, the more insignificant the better. Nova Albion, which he claimed for Queen Elizabeth, included a vast territory, running as high as 48°, as many maps show. Its claiming was not dependent solely on Coast Miwok Indians or on the setting of the spot where he built his fort, careened the *Golden Hinde*, and nailed the Plate of Brass.

Power: The generalized conditions surrounding the Indians may be applied to all three sites with only one important distinction. The greatest number of Indians in Marin lived in the San Francisco Bay watershed area and not in the coastal area.⁴⁶ The visit by the “king” and a “100 tall and warlike men,” (see p. 282) plus many more men, women, and children suggests Drake was close to the greater centers of Coast Miwok population living within the San Francisco Bay watershed.

Guild: From June 17 to June 26, there was ample time for a delegation to reach Drakes Bay even from the San Francisco Bay watershed. The most significant contacts are those made in the area of Drake’s camp.

Neasham: The hill down which the Indians came was directly south of Drake’s fort, as indicated in Hondius’ Portus Plan.

Power: The political history that flowed from Drake’s experiences with the Coast Miwok Indians is what gives substance to this debate.

Tenet 13

Discuss the significance of archaeological evidence related to Drake’s landing.

Guild: Since 1940, over 800 artifacts of sixteenth-century European origin have been found in Drakes Bay sites. Most are fragments of Chinese porcelains, and most are probably from Cermeño (see p. 287), but it is known that Drake had four chests of porcelains when he came to California, thus leaving a possibility that some fragments may be his. With goods and materials common to both and a short intervening time span, the bulk of artifacts cannot positively be attributed to either individual.

Thirteen habitation sites at Drakes Bay have been dated to the sixteenth century. Significantly, one of these, Mrn 235, corresponds to that described as being near three-quarters of a mile from Drake’s camp. Six unusual items of European origin were found there at the same level as the porcelain sherds: a small copper cone, a shred of dark red wool cloth, a peach pit, a clinker, fragments of tar, and an iron item resembling a compass needle with a pivot-like projection near the center. These are notably different from artifacts found on Limantour Spit where Cermeño camped.

After discovery of Drake’s Cove, the Guild undertook a search for traces of Drake’s fort, and exploratory digs continued there until 1961. Over ninety pits and trenches were dug. Before the work ended it became apparent that Drake’s fort had been on the beach outside the excavation area and long since destroyed by the sea and erosion of the shore. The net result of this work was definition of Drake’s Cove. Trenching revealed what was probably the inner bank of his careening basin. On this there is a layer of uniformly large stones, lying over sand and gravel, that may have washed in from remains of the fort. Further excavation is required.

Neasham: That the remains of Drake’s fort may have been found, archeologically, at Bolinas Lagoon, was reported to the Society of Historical Archeologists by this writer and William E. Pritchard on January 10, 1974. My conclusions were that a reservoir used as a duck pond had been built on the fort site in 1872. As stated:

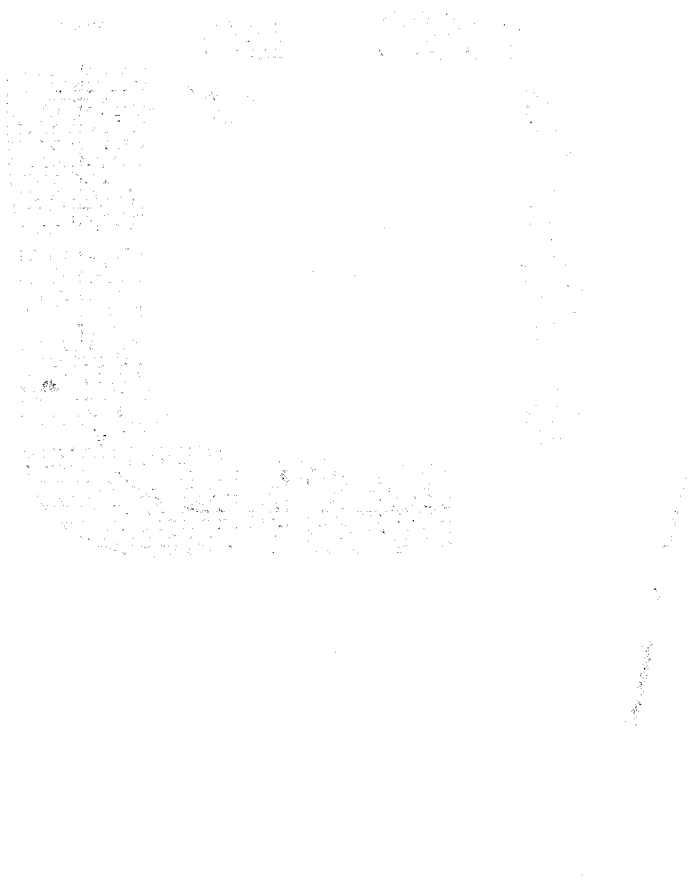
Two major trenches, three feet wide and twenty-five and thirty-five feet long, were dug, as were

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NEASHAM: The photograph (left) of archaeological test trench No. 1 at Bolinas Lagoon in September, 1973, indicates the remains of the older wall beneath the wall of the 1872 duck pond.

NEASHAM: Included in this September, 1973, archaeological drawing (below) of the 1872 duck pond at Bolinas Lagoon are the locations of the archaeologists' test trenches. Photo and drawing by W. E. Pritchard.



several test pits . . . the digging confirmed the fact that this was indeed a reservoir built in 1872. In scraping out the reservoir, the dirt used to form the west and south walls covered another walled structure. The remains of the east and north walls of this first structure are still in place and visible. The older structure measured approximately 80 by 80 feet. The later reservoir measured about 60 by 60 feet. The walls of the earlier structure, as shown by soil profiles, had sloughed down over a long period of time through erosion. Certainly this sloughing process could not have taken place in the thirty or so years since the first white men settled at Bolinas Lagoon in the 1840's. More likely it would have taken several hundred years. In other words, we had in all probability found Drake's fort, built in 1579. No known Spanish, Mexican, or Russian fort had ever been built in this area. Besides the walls of the fort, certain artifacts, including tar, slag and iron objects were found, which the Smithsonian Institution is in process of identifying.⁴⁷

Pritchard, California Department of Parks and Recreation archeologist who is basing his findings on soil profiles, structural features, and an 8" x 8" post hole, wrote: "Although inconclusive, there is no evidence of previous Spanish or Russian occupation of the Bolinas Bay area, and therefore one must conclude that the lower structure dates from an earlier period than that of the late 1700's."⁴⁸

Power: The only archaeological artifact ever discovered in California which has been identified as Elizabethan is the Drake Plate of Brass discovered in 1936 on a Greenbrae hill overlooking Point San Quentin and San Francisco Bay.⁴⁹ This established the Marin shore of San Francisco Bay as the only Drake archaeological discovery zone in California.

There was at Drakes Bay in 1595 the wreck of the goods-laden Manila galleon, the *San Agustín*. This wreck has resulted in a number of sixteenth-century artifacts being discovered in Indian village sites in the immediate Point Reyes area.⁵⁰

The fact that these artifacts apparently were not dispersed beyond Point Reyes is evidence that the Indians did not trade or transport European artifacts circa 1595. This suggests that the Indians would not have transported the Plate of Brass or other Elizabethan artifacts any great distance from the place where they were left by the English, and therefore, that the Elizabethan archaeological zone is limited to the San Francisco Bay shore of Marin County.

Guild: No artifacts of sixteenth-century origin have been recorded from Indian sites on San Francisco Bay. Mr. Power assumes without proof that all such artifacts found at Drakes Bay are Cermeño's, but the lack of any on San Francisco Bay weighs heavily against his argument for Drake's presence there.

The Plate of Brass shows evidence of having lain a long time in an Indian midden; therefore, it was not found *in situ* on the Greenbrae hill, and it does not in any way limit the evidence to San Francisco Bay.

The Bolinas Lagoon fort has two major faults: first, the two trenches dug through the walls failed to disclose any sign of the trench that normally surrounded such a fort and which is mentioned in the accounts. Dr. Neasham states in Tenet No. 7 that earth was shoveled from the surface to make a wall. Second, the trenches revealed no sign of stone, of which the walls were said to have been made.

Dr. Neasham's and William E. Pritchard's assumption that the earlier walls of the fort could not have sloughed down in the short period of early white settlement is contradicted by the fact that the site is on a tide flat. In his report, Dr. Neasham states: "This site has been subjected to filling with water and silt from tidal action," and elsewhere in the report it is stated, "the north and east walls have been damaged by tidal action."⁵¹

Because of the fact of repeated inundation, we do not see how these earth walls could have withstood the ravages of time and tide as long as Dr. Neasham believes

Neasham: The structure found archaeologically at Bolinas Lagoon in September, 1973, if confirmed, would indicate this to be the site of Drake's fort. Excavations in Indian middens nearby prove these to have been recent and occupied during the sixteenth century.

Archaeological materials, including Ming porcelain and iron spikes among Asiatic and European artifacts, in the minds of most archaeologists familiar with the subject point to the Cermeño experience at Drakes Bay in 1595. Some of the artifacts, however, could have been left by the Drake expedition, as Drake had similar materials in his possession. If so, they were brought by the Indians from Drake's camp at Bolinas Lagoon, less than fifteen miles away.

The stones revealed in excavations at the so-called Drake's Cove at Drakes Bay may have some affinity to a fort. If so, they also can be ascribed to Cermeño, who entrenched himself ashore near the estero entrance, where water was available. It is not likely that his camp was some distance to the east on exposed Limantour Spit.

So far as the finding of the Drake plate near San Francisco Bay is concerned, it was not found *in situ* in 1936, as archaeological excavations by Dr. Heizer and this writer demonstrated in 1947. In all probability, it had been carried from place to place, possibly to Drakes Bay from Bolinas Bay, and then to San Francisco Bay in the twentieth century.

Power: Eight hundred artifacts of sixteenth-century European origin have been found in Drakes Bay sites, but not a single one can be identified as English or associated with Drake.

Ninety pits and trenches were dug with negative results on the shore of Drakes Estero which forced the Guild to conclude that the sand and rock that had comprised the alleged "Drake's fort" had been washed away by the sea. This confirms that the Guild did not know the geographic conditions extant in the area of Drakes Estero in 1579 when they "identified" Drake's Cove in 1952-56.

Dr. Neasham does not provide documentary evidence that the 60' x 60' "duck pond" was in fact built in 1872. Perhaps it was the 80' x 80' structure that was the 1872 duck pond, and the 60' x 60' was a more recent modification of this pond. It is a likely speculation that both structures were ponds since the 1859 USCS map depicts the area as marsh. None of the "artifacts" discovered have been identified as sixteenth-century. Neasham presents not one shred of positive archaeological evidence to support an Elizabethan visitation to Bolinas Lagoon.

Guild: Making allowance for some erosion of the outer shore since Drake's visit and using known hydrographic patterns, the geographic conditions extant in the area of Drakes Estero in 1579 can be approximately charted.

We emphasize, as Dr. Neasham admits, that the structure at Bolinas is not confirmed to be Drake's fort. Most important, it lacks the necessary characteristics.

If some of Drake's porcelains had been traded from Bolinas Lagoon to Drakes Bay, it is surprising that none have been found in Bolinas sites.

References in the Cermeño accounts prove that he camped on Limantour Spit.⁵²

Neasham: The more than 800 non-Indian sixteenth-century artifacts found at Drakes Bay are classified as both European and Oriental, mostly the latter in the form of Ming porcelain. As to the 60' x 60' duck pond superimposed on Drake's larger fort, the fact that the duck pond was built in 1872 has been documented by Thomas J. Barfield, Bolinas historian. Archeological evidence in 1973 confirmed that the larger and older structure was not used originally as a reservoir.

As to a deep trench or moat surrounding Drake's fort, this was impossible at Bolinas Lagoon, because of the high water table. Drake's construction was done in accordance

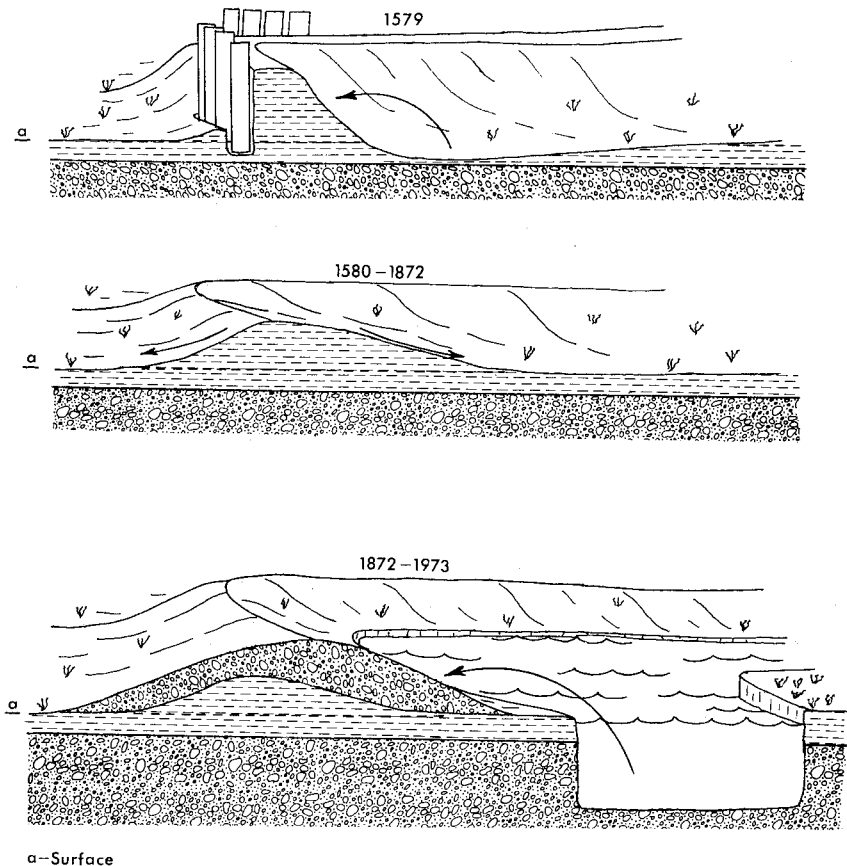
with local conditions. The walls were earth thrown up and faced with stone or wood. The 8-inch square post mold found in the 1973 excavations may indicate the latter.

The fort walls, above tidal action in Drake's time, would have taken a long time to slough down. The placement of the fill and dikes in the 1870's kept the tides away from the site. Ultimately, however, the dikes were weakened to the northeast and at the point where the ditch from the duck pond, running south and then east, entered the lagoon. High tides funnel through these weakened points with extra force, thus causing the man-made pasture, duck pond, and original surface at times to be flooded.

The land on which Drake built his fort also may have subsided, thus allowing the tides to invade what in 1579 was dry land. The U.S. Geological Survey states that in the 1906 earthquake, displacement occurred as much as 1 foot vertically and 13.5 feet horizontally at Bolinas Lagoon.⁵³

Power: The Plate of Brass was found *in situ* by Beryle Shinn who reported he "pulled the plate free from the ground."⁵⁴ The carbon deposit does not establish that it was in an Indian midden; it is merely one of several speculative explanations possible. The San Francisco Bay-Portus Plan comparison suggests the Plate of Brass was found in the vicinity of the site where Drake erected it.

NEASHAM: *The comparative drawing of the Bolinas Lagoon site (below) suggests the profiles and reconstructs Drake's fort in 1579, its subsequent deterioration, and the construction of the 1872 duck pond. Drawing by W. E. Pritchard.*



Tenet 14

Before Drake left the bay in which he had anchored, according to The World Encompassed, he "caused to be set up a monument of our being there, . . . namely a plate of brasse" (see p. 285). This plate was discovered in 1936 by Beryle Shinn on a hill overlooking San Francisco Bay. After the discovery was announced, William Caldeira claimed to have previously discovered this same plate near Drakes Bay in 1933 and to have discarded it near the Greenbrae hillside where Shinn found it. What is the significance of the plate to the landing site controversy?

Guild: The Plate of Brass is not significant to identification of Drake's landing place. It is a portable artifact not found *in situ*, and there is even doubt in the minds of some that it is authentic, although the investigations by Drs. Fink and Polushkin make this possibility remote.

Aside from other considerations, carbonaceous particles inixed with corrosion products and soil elements in the patina of the plate rule out any possibility that it was found where originally posted, as this intrusion necessarily comes from long burial in an Indian midden. Regardless of where found, the plate was posted nearby Drake's camp and subsequently removed by the Indians.

Neasham: In all probability, since 1579 the Drake plate had been carried from place to place by the Miwok. The evidence of carbon on its surface when it was tested may indicate it had lain in an Indian midden for a long period of time. In any event, its original placement was at or near Drake's fort. If the fort was at Bolinas Lagoon, then, necessarily, the plate was erected in that vicinity.

The hole in the lower right-hand corner of the plate, which held the sixpence on which was Queen Elizabeth's likeness, may in reality have been a symbolic map representing Drake's landing. It, having a similarity in shape to the pen-and-ink representation of the same spot by Dudley in his *Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale*, led this writer to the ultimate finding of the suggested Drake fort at Bolinas Lagoon in 1973.

Power: The Plate of Brass was first knowingly discovered on a hill overlooking the shore of Point San Quentin and San Francisco Bay. There is no valid evidence that anyone but the Indians had seen this relic since the departure of Drake. The discoverer who turned it over to Professor Herbert Bolton in 1936 was Beryle Shinn of Oakland. His veracity has never been in question. A claim of previous discovery was made in 1937 by William Caldeira who by his own volunteered testimony established that he was an untruthful fabricator of evidence when he falsely claimed he could remember the letters "DRAK"⁵⁵ at the bottom of the plate.

The discovery site, as unlikely as it seemed in 1936, was precisely in the general area of the encampment site depicted on the *Portus Novae Albionis* when this plan is compared with San Francisco Bay. The Montanus illustration likewise favorably compares with the general area where the Plate of Brass was discovered. This independent interlocking of evidence, one archeological and the other cartographic-pictorial, intensifies the value of each in determining that Francis Drake landed on the shores of San Francisco Bay.

Guild: Mr. Power's contention that William Caldeira was lying when he claimed original discovery of the plate at Drakes Bay is irresponsible. Why not remember the letters

DRAK? If he saw them, as he said he did, then he could remember them. Leon Bocqueraz, a director of the Bank of America and Caldeira's employer at the time, expressed a high regard for his integrity in a recorded interview, saying that he would take his word absolutely.⁵⁶ Allen L. Chickering, who interviewed Caldeira at the time, also accepted his word.

As for disbelieving Caldeira, one can equally doubt Beryle Shinn's story of finding the plate, as there is no evidence that he found it on the Greenbrae hillside, only *his* word. The Guild accepts the word of both Mr. Caldeira and Mr. Shinn.

As for Dr. Neasham's argument, we fail to see that the hole in the plate is anything but a provision for retaining the sixpence.

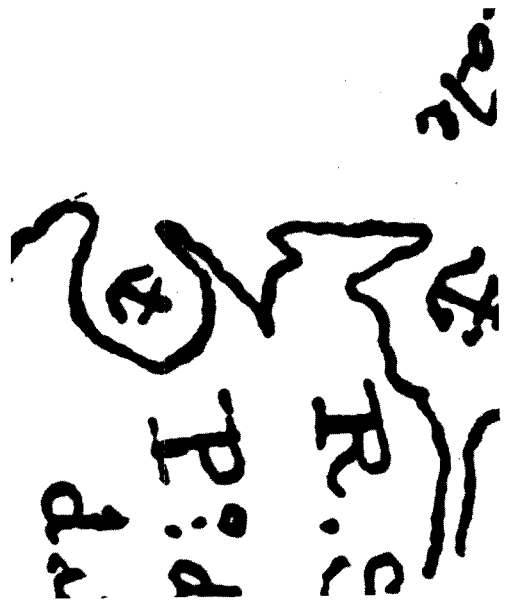
Neasham: The Plate of Brass attests to the landing of Drake in what is now Marin County. This writer believes the story of William Caldeira that he found it in 1933 at a crossroad on the Laguna Ranch near Drakes Bay, and that he later threw it from his car near Greenbrae. Subsequently, it was picked up in 1936, not far away.

The carbon on the surface of the Drake Plate may indicate it had lain for a long period of time in an Indian site. Carbonaceous materials from food, discarded plant materials, and fire are components of Indian middens. The Miwok may have transported the plate from place to place, until it became buried in some Indian mound. Road or other construction could have exposed it; and someone earlier than Caldeira may have found

NEASHAM: *On his departure Drake nailed this Plate of Brass on a great post, claiming the land, Nova Albion, for Queen Elizabeth.*

POWER: *The only identified archaeological artifact from Drake's voyage is the Plate of Brass. A previous discovery claim has been discredited. Drake back-dated the plate to commemorate his discovery of the Golden Gate. California Historical Society.*





NEASHAM: *The upper part of the hole in the Drake plate is similar in shape to Drake's anchorage as on the seventeenth-century Dudley map, Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale. Copy by George Davidson, California State Library, Sacramento.*

it at either Drakes Bay or Bolinas Bay, only to divest himself of it at the Laguna Ranch. Linking the finding of the Drake plate near San Francisco Bay in 1936 and the Montanus drawing does not "hold water," if the drawing represents a fanciful scene, which, conceivably, could be attributed to many other spots, including Drakes Bay and Bolinas Lagoon.

Power: There is an old adage in archeology that the further one speculates an artifact traveled, the less chance he has of being correct. Most artifacts fall to the earth near where they were used by man.

It seems to be agreed in all opening statements that Indians transported the Plate of Brass from where it was erected to its Greenbrae discovery site where Beryle Shinn pulled it free from the soil in 1936.

It is a remote chance indeed that Indians carried this relic from a coastal anchorage and discarded it on a hill overlooking Point San Quentin which is the location of Drake's fort in the San Francisco Bay-*Portus Novæ Albionis* comparison.

The shape of the hole in the Plate of Brass which Dr. Neasham imagines to be a symbolic map led him to Bolinas Lagoon! I suggest Dr. Neasham begin his treasure hunt again by re-reading *The World Encompassed* which plainly says "a piece of sixpence . . . shewing itself by a hole made of purpose through the plate" (see p. 285).

Guild: The Guild's position is that the plate was moved from the post to an Indian midden, by someone else to Caldeira's find site, by Caldeira to Greenbrae, then by someone else to the Shinn-find site not far away.

As for the length of time this plate lay in the Shinn site, note the circumstance of Shinn's discovery as he picked up rocks to roll downhill: "... I noticed the plate lying on the ground. It was partly covered by a rock." He affirmed that the plate could be seen before he picked up the rock.⁵⁷

Because the find site had a heavy grass cover, the plate could not have lain there long before becoming covered by decayed vegetation, roots, and dust. Its patina was uniform, indicating complete burial for a long time, not partial exposure.

We concur with Dr. Neasham on this point.

Neasham: Drake's Plate of Brass was carried to its final site near Greenbrae by someone unknown, after it had been discarded by Caldeira.

Symbolism in sixteenth-century England occupied many minds. As to the hole in the plate, it may be a symbolic map. If not symbolic, why the strange configuration of the hole, if made only to hold the sixpence? The precise shape of the prong at the left side should have been repeated at the right and at the top and bottom. But it was not. In any event, the plate led to Dudley's *Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale*, which in turn led to Bolinas Lagoon, which in turn led to Drake's fort. If confirmed, the fort is the most significant artifact of Drake's landing to be found, even more important historically than the Plate of Brass.

Power: Irresponsible! The irresponsibility in this Tenet lays with the Guild and Dr. Neasham in believing Caldeira's 1937 statements⁵⁸ and that Bocqueraz, in a 1955 interview on file at the Bancroft Library, added credence to Caldeira's claims.

The \$3,500 "reward" Shinn had received had been widely publicized when the Plate's discovery was officially announced. Bocqueraz alleged in his 1955 interview that Caldeira "thought he should get some reward."⁵⁹

"Somewhat a little ignorant" was an opinion Bocqueraz ventured about Caldeira in his 1955 interview, yet the Guild and Dr. Neasham "believe" he was capable of remembering for three years the letters "DRAK" in a "foreign writing of some kind."⁶⁰ Caldeira did not know when he falsified his recall that *Drake's Plate of Brass Authenticated*, published the following year, would report, "After the letters had been engraved . . . [there were] distortions of the letter grooves such as in the case of the . . . letter 'K' [in DRAKE],"⁶¹ but the Guild and Dr. Neasham should know a distorted "K" is not a letter subject to recall.

In addition there are gross inconsistencies between Caldeira's 1937 statement and Bocqueraz's 1955 interview. Caldeira said in 1937, "I . . . sailed it [i.e. the Plate] . . . into clear space. . . . I was . . . alone,"⁶² but in 1955 Bocqueraz said of the same event that Caldeira "took and threw it away" and "I saw him throw it."⁶³ Either Caldeira or Bocqueraz made an untruthful statement.

Beryle Shinn is believed because he presented the Plate of Brass to Professor Eugene Bolton.⁶⁴ Possession proved beyond all doubt Shinn had discovered Drake's Plate.

Tenet 15

Drake departed from Nova Albion on July 23, 1579, and The World Encompassed reported that "not farre without this harborough did lye certaine Ilands . . . one of which wee fell July 24" (see p. 286). What is the significance of the dates and apparent time lapsed on this leg of his journey?

Guild: No special significance for identifying Drake's landing site can be attached to the apparent length of time between Drake's departure from the landing site, given as ~~July~~ August 23, and his "fell" at the Farallon Islands on ~~August~~ ^{July} 24.

It is the Guild's belief that these dates resulted from the usual seamen's practice in that era to change the log date at noon instead of at midnight, because navigation was reckoned from noon to noon. Tide tables prepared for the Guild show that Drake could have left Drakes Estero the morning of ~~August~~ ^{July} 23, commenced his sea day at

noon with the new date of ~~August~~^{JULY} 24, and reached the Farallon Islands before dark.

However, it is not improbable either that Drake may have hove-to overnight because of fog or light wind and so not fell with the islands until the following day.

Neasham: Drake could have left Bolinas Bay on July 23, either in the morning or late in the day, according to the dictates of the tide. Even sailing somewhat against north-west winds, the trip to the islands was only about twenty miles and should have been made in less than a day without difficulty. In all probability, however, as any competent navigator would do after a thorough overhaul and repair of his ship, Drake would have given it a major shakedown before continuing his long voyage. This would have taken a considerable amount of time, thus perhaps accounting for his arrival at the Farallones a day after his departure.

Power: The description of the departure from the “harbourough” of Nova Albion on July 23 and the arrival at one of the Farallon Islands on July 24 correlates with sailing from Point San Quentin to the Farallones.

The World Encompassed says, “The 23. of Iuly they tooke a sorrowfull farewell of vs, but being loath to leaue vs, they presently ranne to the top of the hils to keepe vs in their sight as long as they could, making fires . . . burning . . . sacrifices at our departure” (see p. 286). The *Portus Nova Albionis* depicts these Indians on the crest of the Portus peninsula burning these sacrifices. The next paragraph in *The World Encompassed* continues, “Not farre without this harbourough did lye certain Islands . . . one of which wee fell Iuly 24.”

These requirements are all met by departing from Point San Quentin in the morning, reaching the Golden Gate in time for the afternoon ebb current, and riding this tidal flow through the Golden Gate. Simultaneously, the *Golden Hinde* would have disappeared from the sight of the Indians burning sacrifices on the Tiburon Peninsula. It was too late to approach the Farallones until the following day.

Guild: To answer Mr. Power’s argument, we refer to our basic statement. The historic facts of departure and arrival date at the islands do not give evidence of any specific landing site.

Neasham: Drake’s departure on July 23, and his arrival at the Farallones on July 24, can be variously explained—time of departure, whether or not the date change was made at noon or midnight, hoving-to for the night, or giving the *Golden Hinde* a major shakedown. The trip could have been made without difficulty from Drakes Bay or Bolinas Bay with the help of northwest winds. It would have been much more difficult from San Francisco Bay. Davidson, an expert geographer and navigator, observed that Drake could not have made the trip from San Francisco Bay to the Farallones without making several tacks, because of adverse winds and swift tides.⁶⁵ That these conditions prevail was demonstrated by the Spaniard, Ayala, who almost wrecked his ship, the *San Carlos*, while going through the Golden Gate on his departure from San Francisco Bay in 1775.

Power: *The World Encompassed* is a journal, not a log, and journals at sea were always kept on a midnight to midnight basis according to Lt. Commander D. W. Waters,⁶⁶ the world’s greatest authority on Tudor navigation, who has reviewed this specific matter.

There could have been a fog bank which impeded the expedition, but this is not implied, as the cold “returned” after departing from the Islands of Saint James on July 25.

As for Dr. Neasham’s statement, the *Golden Hinde* sailed out of sight of the Indians upon departure, so it doesn’t follow that there was a “shakedown” upon departure

Guild: In response to Mr Powers, we hold to our position as stated in the statement and first response.

We concur with Dr. Neasham on this point.

Neasham: The *Golden Hinde* departed from Bolinas Bay on July 23, 1579, and arrived at the Isles of St. James (the Farallones) on July 24.

Power: Dr. Neasham at least understands the issue when he states, "The trip could have been made without difficulty [to the Farallones] from Drakes Bay or Bolinas Bay with the help of northwest winds. It would have been much more difficult from San Francisco Bay." Difficulty translated into sailing time.

Tenet 16

The Vera Totius Expeditionis Nauticae map of the world by cartographer Jodocus Hondius (London, 1589), contains in its upper left-hand corner a plan of the Portus Novæ Albionis. Discuss the significance of the Portus Plan and its correlation with the proposed landing site.

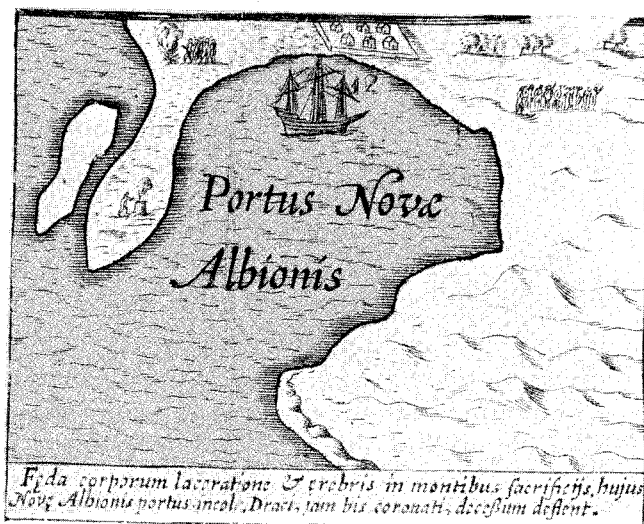
Guild: This small view, or local map, provides the key clues that pinpoint Drake's encampment. Even if viewed as only a rough field sketch, it carries vital information. Drake's ship is shown anchored in a small bay, or cove, near his fort. To the right of the fort, symbols indicate hills continuing to bluffs at bottom center; to its left, dots and short, horizontal dashes indicate beach, a conclusion supported by the point's characteristic sandspit shape. The adjacent island has no texture, as though flat and featureless, and is apparently a sandbar.

Interpreted in this general way, the inset correlates to a cove inside a sandspit on the west side of the mouth of Drakes Estero. Hills and bluffs there correspond to the inset.

But details on the inset are engraved with care, and the Portus Plan has point-for-point correspondence with the cove, a fair degree of scale relationship, and too many points of agreement for coincidence. Comparative features are the cove's seal-head shape and matching indentations in the crest of the bluff overlooking the cove, including even a small point at the outer end. These are hard geographical features.

Hondius' spit matches spits that form at Drake's Cove in shape, location, and angular relationship. The island relates to sand bars that form adjacent to the spit.

GUILD: *The Portus Novæ Albionis insert from the Hondius Broadside map shows Drake's fort and careenage. The point has the characteristic shape of a sand spit. Note that different topographic symbols are used for the surrounding hills on the right and for the terrain of the point. British Museum, London.*



Scale locates the fort on the beach in logical orientation with the hill at the head of the spit and places the ship where a natural deep-water basin occurs. A figure stands between ship and fort where archaeology indicates a shoal once existed. The figure was probably burning a sacrifice on a stranded log, just as the figure on the spit burns one on a driftwood stump.

Neasham: This is considered to be one of the basic clues to Drake's landing site in California. This writer interprets it to be Bolinas Lagoon, for the following reasons: The bay corresponds in shape and size to Drake's anchorage in the inner harbor of Bolinas Bay, as shown on Dudley's *Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale*; the nearby island corresponds to Duxbury Reef, which is above water at low tide and, as a hazard to navigation, would have been noted by Drake, a competent navigator; the *Golden Hinde* is located near the west shore at its carenage close to the fort; the fort is at the relative location of the structure found by this writer in 1973 on the shore of Bolinas Lagoon; the fort has the relative size and shape of the structure found in 1973; Indians, or possibly Drake and his men, are depicted on the inset going north up into the country towards Olema; and the hills and gullies to the east are almost exact duplications of those found today at Bolinas Lagoon.

Power: The *Portus Novæ Albionis* is definitive evidence that Francis Drake discovered San Francisco Bay. It is a plan of the northern portion of this bay and of no other part of the earth.

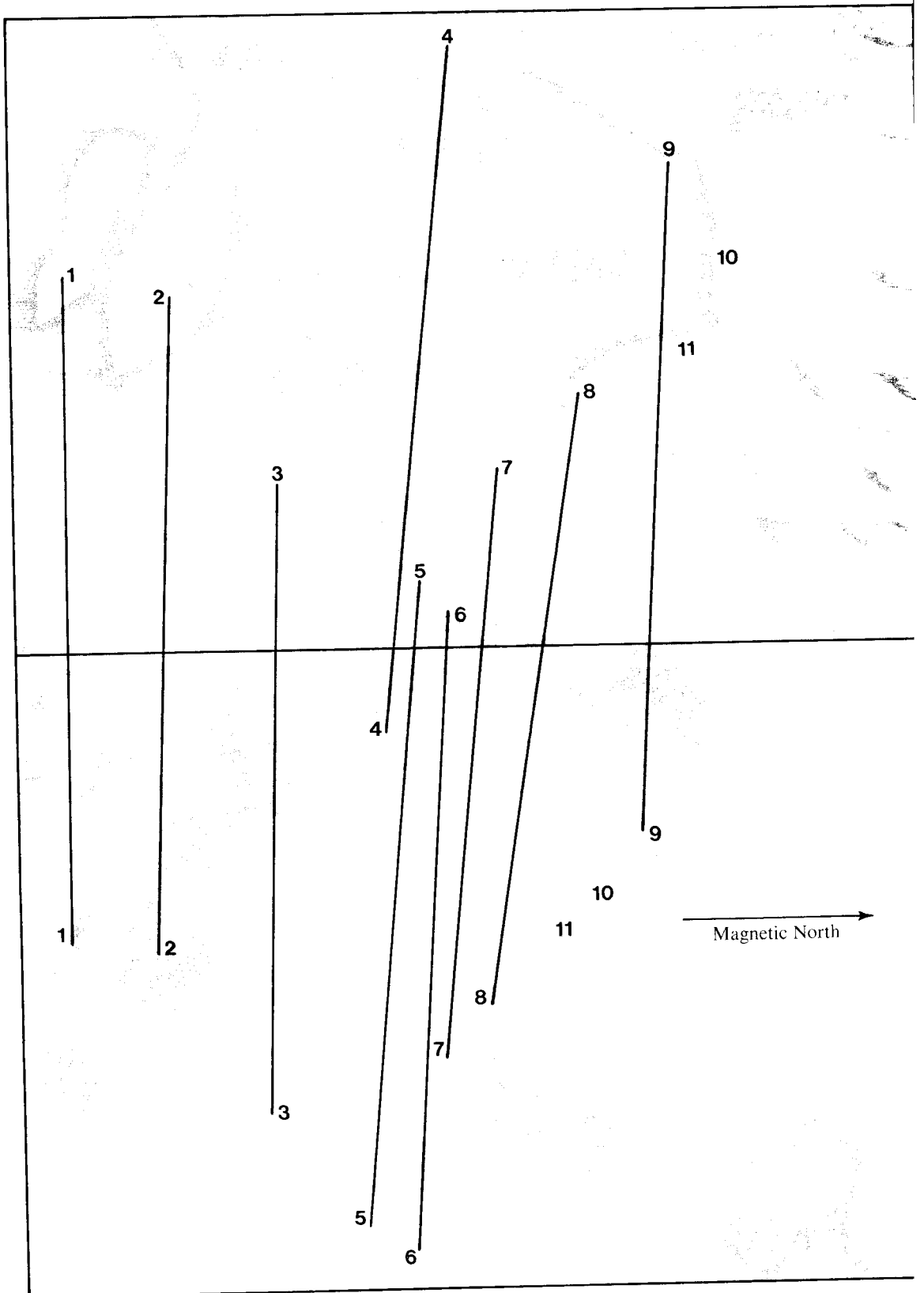
The Portus island compares so favorably to the distinctive form of Belvedere Island that this single comparison identifies San Francisco Bay as the anchorage of the *Golden Hinde*. In addition, the Portus peninsula has the general form of Tiburon Peninsula, and the shape of the actual bay in the *Portus Novæ Albionis* is nearly identical with the shape of northern San Francisco Bay. The latter includes an opening into San Pablo Bay which is depicted as a shoreline on the Elizabethan plan. This may have been intended as an horizon if the vantage point was in the vicinity of Angel Island. In views of this kind, the land to the rear of the cartographer, such as Angel Island, is never depicted, as per the other Hondius inset of *Portus Java* which does not depict the opposite shore of an estuary. (See map reproduced in *California Historical Quarterly*, Summer, 1973, pp. 12-13.)

Guild: Belvedere Island does not compare as Mr. Power claims. Note that the upper end of Hondius' island is broad and straight across, and the lower end also broad, like an arrowhead. Belvedere rises steeply on all sides to nearly 400 feet, but Hondius shows no topographic definition, despite lavish use of it elsewhere.

Tiburon Peninsula should be better defined than any other part of the inset, inasmuch as Mr. Power assumes a vantage point off its tip, yet Hondius shows a smooth form coming to a sharp point, whereas the peninsula has a broad, indented tip one mile across. Hondius shows symbols for hills elsewhere, but shows a flat texture here, contrary to the steep hills rising to as much as 780 feet on this peninsula.

The inset is far from identical with northern San Francisco Bay in other respects. Point San Quentin is missing, as are several islands, notably Angel Island, which is very close to Tiburon Peninsula and cannot be easily explained away. No artist or draftsman would have been so unconventional as to show a horizon at San Pablo Strait as a vertical line. The strait into San Pablo Bay is evident from Angel Island and would have been explored in short order by Drake's bark. Note also that the south end of the Contra Costa shore has no similarity to the bluffs at the bottom of the inset.

The caption of the inset describes it as Drake's departure, and by then all features of this part of the bay would have been well known



As for Bolinas Lagoon, it does not compare with the inset. While Hondius shows an open bay, or cove, there is no proof that Bolinas Lagoon was open to Bolinas Bay in 1579, and much to indicate that it was not. Duxbury Reef was noted by Vancouver in 1792 when he passed Bolinas Bay one league offshore from Point Reyes to San Francisco, but he did not notice the lagoon, and his descriptions and charts indicate that the barrier beach existed then to screen it from view.⁶⁷ Secondly, Bolinas Lagoon does not compare in shape or topographic features to the inset. Thirdly, Duxbury Reef does not compare to the island, but instead projects southeasterly as an extension of Duxbury Point; nor does Duxbury Point compare with Hondius' point. Finally, the Bolinas fort is surrounded by hills on three sides, whereas Hondius shows hills only to the right of the fort.

In respect to the Dudley charts (see pp. 264–5), there can be no comparison of the inset with an inner harbor on the charts because only a narrow river, or estuary is shown.

Neasham: *Portus Novæ Albionis* is a composite of several scenes during Drake's stay from June 17 to July 23. The cove at the west side of the estero entrance of Drakes Bay cannot be correlated with it for the following reasons: 1. the cove is too small, in relation to Hondius' Portus and Dudley's charts; 2. it does not have the proper orientation, being off 45° if going up into the land meant north, and Drake's men and possibly Indians are depicted going north in the Portus, only as they could do by going up the Olema Valley, which is not possible from the so-called Drake's Cove; 3. no bar is indicated in the Portus or in the Drake narratives, nor would Drake have risked taking the *Golden Hinde* over the bar at the estero entrance; 4. the point adjacent to and left of the fort is not a sandspit, but is mountainous or hilly, as the Portus indicates in depicting and telling of Indian sacrifices atop it at Drake's departure; 5. the hill to the west, adjacent to the supposed cove site, not only is improperly oriented in relation to the Portus plan, but is too steep for the Indians to have come down directly to the fort without skirting its base for a considerable distance; 6. the suggested fort site at the estero is too close to the base of the hill and vulnerable to attack from above; 7. the suggested fort and carenage sites at the estero are not in a protected spot, as Hondius shows, but are subject to the full force of north and northwest winds; 8. the gullies shown opposite Drake's fort in the Portus are not representative of those of the so-called Drake's Cove; and 9. the island of the Portus is not a sand bar, but represents a reef, exposed at low tide.

POWER: *A comparison of San Francisco Bay (1856 U.S.G.S. map) to the Portus Plan establishes that Drake must have entered the Golden Gate. In fingerprint identification procedures, ten points of comparison are considered proof beyond doubt. A similar standard in historic cartography is fair.* Robert H. Power Collection.

1. Portus Island
2. High point of Portus Peninsula
3. Center point in Portus between Peninsula and bluffs opposite
4. Drake carenage site
5. Point and bluffs
6. Return of shore
7. Point
8. Point
9. Point
10. Presumed horizontal line
11. Point

1. Belvedere Island
2. Ridge line of Tiburon Peninsula
3. Center point in Bay between Tiburon and Point Richmond
4. Carenage site used for whaling vessels in early days
5. Bluffs of Point Richmond
6. Return of Richmond shore toward Albany
7. Molate Point
8. Castro Point
9. Point San Pedro
10. Strait of San Pablo
11. Point San Pablo

Portus Novæ Albionis does not correlate with Point San Quentin for the following reasons: 1. San Francisco Bay is too large, in relation to the Portus and Dudley's charts; 2. the Portus indicates something relatively simple, not the complex Bay of San Francisco with its many possible careenage sites, including Sausalito, Richardson Bay, and Hospital Cove at Angel Island, any one of which could have been utilized by Drake before reaching Point San Quentin; 3. the proposed careenage site at Point San Quentin not only is out of proportion to the Portus plan, being too small, but is not oriented correctly with key details of the plan; 4. the careenage site at San Quentin is too far from the suggested fort site; 5. too many major features of San Francisco Bay are not shown in the Portus, including Angel Island, Red Rock, and San Pablo Bay; and 6. the gullies on the Portus Plan do not correspond with the gullies existing near Point San Quentin.

Power: The Guild has correctly assessed that any Drake anchorage theory must be reconciled to the *Portus Novæ Albionis* to be a viable proposal. Therefore, the Guild tries to make the Portus Plan fit their area by creating a non-existent anchorage out of a changeable sand shoreline at the entrance to Drakes Estero and inventing the place name "Drake's Cove." It is a geographical myth and a geological improbability. The Guild begins on an erroneous note by alleging that Drake's ship is shown anchored in "a small bay, or cove." The scale of the geographic features on the Portus Plan is not known, therefore, the Guild does not know *per se* if it is a small cove or a great bay like San Francisco.

The Guild alleges that the absence of texture on the Portus island indicates a "sand bar," that the "dots and dashes" on the Portus peninsula indicate a "beach," and its form indicates it is a "sandspit." However, these findings are not supported by the cartographic symbols and depictions on the plan.

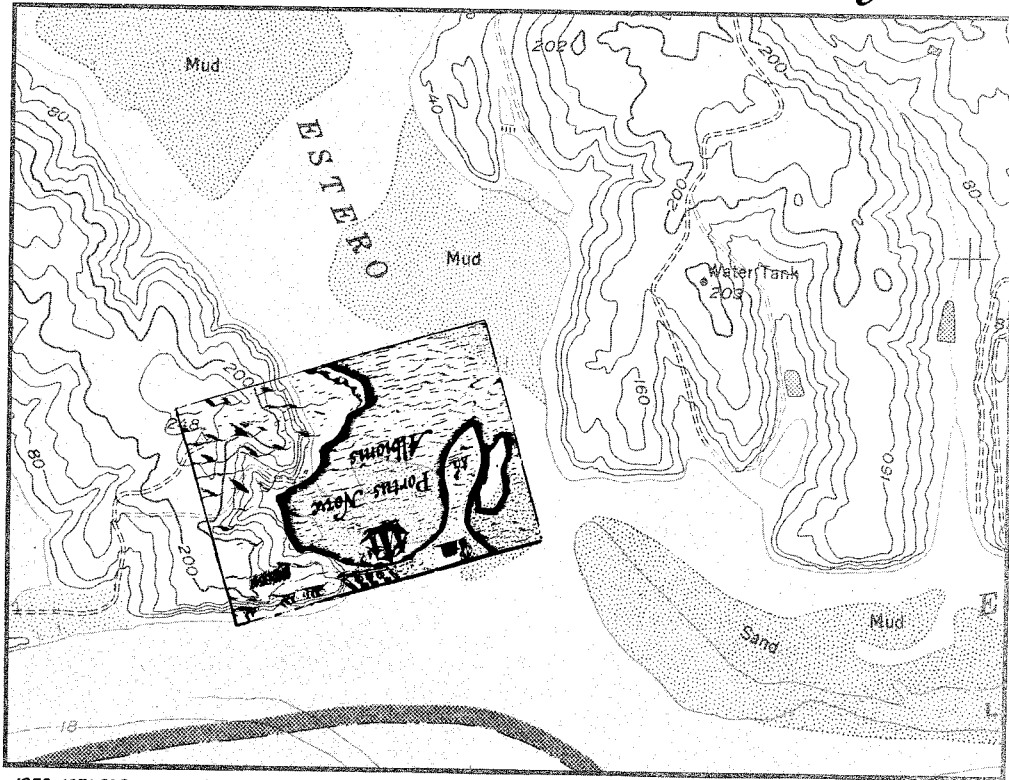
The parallel dashes which indicate a *terra firma* shoreline are used on the Portus island, Portus peninsula, and on the shore to the left of the fort which establishes that the cartographer believed all of these features had firm "seashores."⁶⁸ The absence of markings on the Portus island does not make it a "sand bar"; it is just an island without designated relief.

On what the Guild finds is "a small point of land" to the left of the fort, the Portus Plan has about a dozen hill symbols. In this case, they ignore the texture indicated on the plan.

However, the greatest delusion of all is in the Guild's interpretation of the Portus peninsula as a "beach . . . [with a] characteristic sandspit shape" where Indians are depicted "burning a sacrifice on a stranded log" and another Indian "burns one [a sacrifice] on a driftwood stump." Jodocus Hondius, the cartographer who engraved the *Portus Novæ Albionis* along with its descriptive legend below, was unaware that the texture he applied to the Portus peninsula indicated it was a "beach," nor was Hondius aware that the shape he had drawn was a "sandspit." This is evidenced by the legend under the plan that reads, "The natives . . . around the harbor of Nova Albion mourned the departure of Drake . . . and offered many sacrifices on the hill-tops."⁶⁹ Therefore, it is an undisputable fact that Hondius believed the Portus peninsula was not a sandspit but was hilly and properly located so that Drake could see them "burning . . . sacrifices" as he sailed out of the harbor. Why the Guild makes the

POWER: *Drake's Cove* is a geographic myth and a geological improbability that cannot be "reconstructed" because it has never been known to exist. The two real shapes the sandspits have taken in the last century are depicted (opposite) on the 1862 Coast Survey and modern-times U.S.G.S. charts.

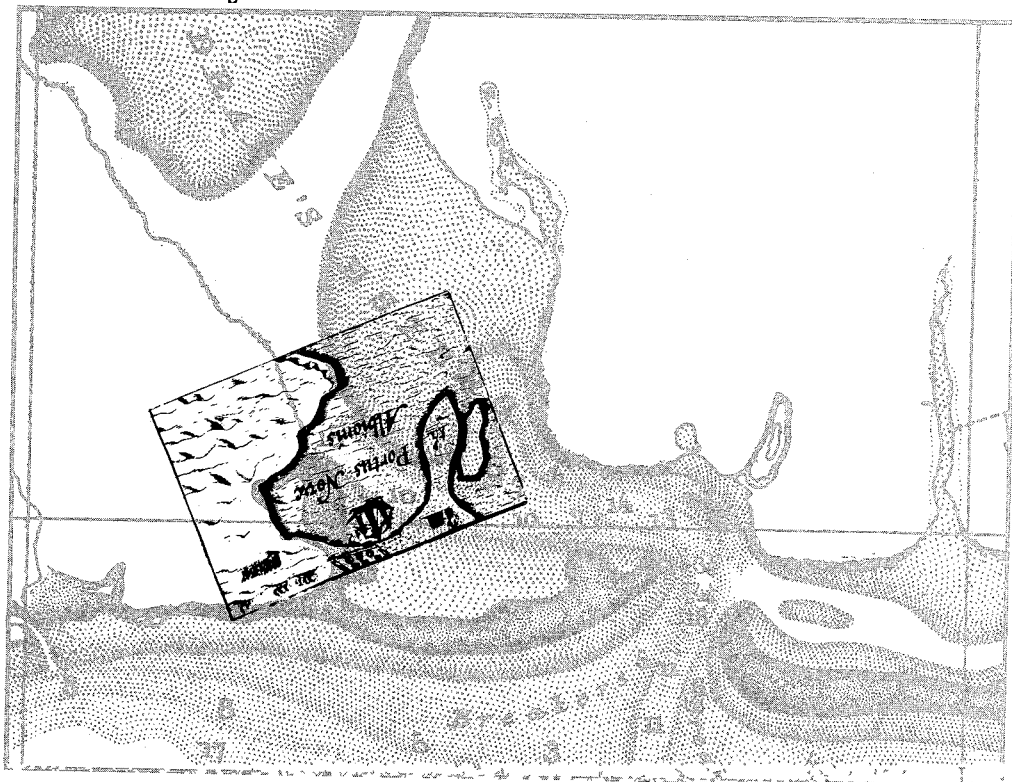
Entrance to Drake's Estero, Drake's Bay



1953-1971 U.S. Geological Survey

1862 U.S. Coast Survey

0 1/2 1 MILE



sacrifices “stranded logs” and “driftwood” when *The World Encompassed* confirms that the burning of sacrifices at Drake’s departure were on “hills” (see p. 286) is not understandable.

There is no cove extant today, and the Guild cannot establish that there was an anchorage cove extant at Drakes Estero in 1579 nor can they determine the configuration of the sandspit in that year.

As for Bolinas Lagoon, it does not compare with the *Portus Nova Albionis* in any way whatsoever. Because there is no comparative orientation comment on the orientation of the fort on the Portus Plan with the levies Dr. Neasham excavated in the Bolinas marsh, it is, therefore, not possible.

Guild: Hondius was too experienced a cartographer to use dots and dashes for hills instead of the standard mole-hill symbol used elsewhere, and we are forced to conclude that those represent something other than hills.

Hondius probably heard or read that the Indians ran to the hilltops when Drake sailed, so he added that to his caption. But the tents still stood and the *Golden Hinde* was not yet underway, so the scene from which he drew *precedes* the sacrifices on the hills.

Near departure, *The World Encompassed* describes a sacrifice made at Drake’s camp which is probably that shown left of the fort.

To answer Dr. Neasham: 1. The Guild’s scale chart shows that the cove is adequate. 2. At departure, Indians ran to hilltops, *not* inland. 3. The bar is outside the inset. 4. No mole-hill symbols are shown left of the fort. 5. At the cove, the only easy descent to the fort site is precisely where the group is shown at the right of the inset. *The World Encompassed* indicates that it was necessary to break ranks and reassemble at the fort (see p. 283). 6. Answered in Tenet 7. 7. In late June and July the wind is negligible. Protection from the sea is what counted. 8. We see no “gullies” in the inset, only indentations. 9. For a view of the “Portus” island, turn to the 1952 air photo of Drakes Estero reproduced on page 215.

Neasham: Bolinas Bay does compare with the *Portus Nova Albionis*, as demonstrated in the similarity of the 1579 physical features of Bolinas Lagoon and the Portus Plan. Dudley’s Drake anchorage in the *Carta Prima Generale* also is comparable to the Portus Plan in size and shape. The plan does not show hills to the south, west, and north of the fort—only south and north, and east across the lagoon. The hills to the west, although there, are not shown, as Hondius chose to complete his drawing near the west wall of the fort.

As to Bolinas Lagoon being open to Bolinas Bay in 1579, members of the Portolá expedition in 1769 noted the open bight there. Father Palou, with Portolá, commented on its possible use as a haven for ships.⁷⁰ A sandy beach is mentioned also. Large islands are not indicated. Kent Island, the largest island in Bolinas Lagoon, did not fully develop until after 1900. The narrow stream in Dudley’s Manuscript Chart No. 85 is in the relative location of McCormack (Pine) Creek at the northwest side of Bolinas Lagoon.

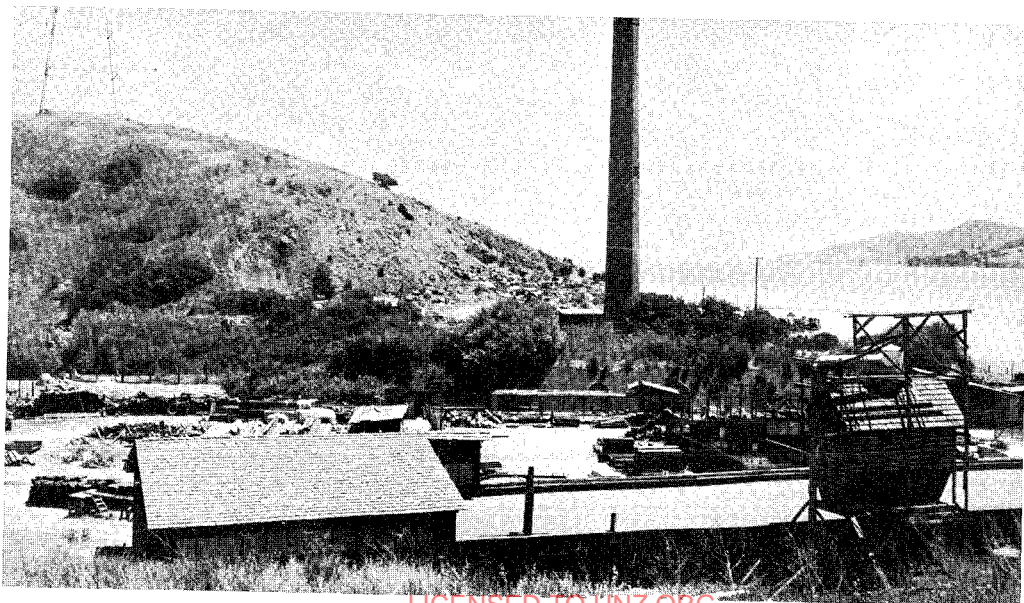
Power: Ten points of comparison between fingerprints in criminological investigations are enough evidence to put an individual on death row,⁷¹ and a similar standard establishes the *Portus Nova Albionis* as a plan of northern San Francisco Bay.

POWER: Montanus’ 1671 view of Drake’s Nova Albion anchorage (opposite) matches the San Francisco Bay landscape near the site where Beryle Shinn “pulled free from the ground” the Plate of Brass. It matches no other Marin vista. Robert H. Power Collection.

Tenet
17

What is the significance of Arnold Montanus' illustration, "The Crowning of Drake," which was published in *De Nieuwe en Onbekonde Weereld: of Beschryving van Americo en 1 + Zuid-Land . . .* (Amsterdam, 1671)?

Guild: This engraving is not used as evidence by the Guild because of the late date of publication and evident errors, for example, Cavalier dress, Indian with spears although they had none, tents at random instead of in a fort, the *Golden Hinde* shown as a ship of the seventeenth century resting a great distance from the camp. Montanus clearly improvised. What is fact and what is not?



The engraving, however, has comparisons with the Hondius inset and Drake's Cove, and it is possible that Montanus inherited an outline sketch based on a few facts, perhaps from Hondius or de Bry, which he completed in ignorance. For example, the banner at center may have been sketched only as a mast and yard to represent Drake's ship to be developed later. The steep-sided formation in the background of the drawing relates to the bluff that overlooks Drake's Cove; Indians coming from inland would have appeared in a similar situation on the hill. The missing fort may have been located where the bank and gully are sketched at left foreground; Indians may have come submissively to Drake in the trench outside the fort.

Neasham: The 1671 drawing by Arnold Montanus is a fanciful view. Drake is shown in what appears to be cavalier clothing, and his men, far in excess of the number he had with him, are also dressed in the manner of the seventeenth century. The Indians are not reminiscent of the Coast Miwok in appearance, dress, or habitations. The coat-of-arms of the City of Plymouth, of which Drake became mayor after his return to England, appears on a banner hanging from a flagstaff.

The scene showing the *Golden Hinde* at anchor conceivably could be related to many spots in California, including Bolinas Lagoon. To designate it as a particular spot, however, may be begging the case and more than the artist intended. More likely, the representations of the California Indians, their habitations, and their visitation by Drake, as shown in 1599 by the engraver, Theodore de Bry, are more representative of Drake's California encampment at Bolinas Lagoon.

Power: The Montanus illustration has a remarkable resemblance to a view from Point San Quentin looking across an arm of San Francisco Bay at Tiburon and Angel Island. The illustration is misleading because Drake and his associates are dressed in seventeenth-century cavalier costumes. However, there are several cogent points that should be noted.

Arnold Montanus was the grandson of Petrus Montanus, partner and brother-in-law of Jodocus Hondius, publisher of the *Portus Novæ Albionis*.⁷² The arms he depicted on the banner are the arms of Queen Elizabeth and the City of Plymouth, the latter ones being relatively unknown and suggesting some inspiration from an original source (arms identified by A. A. Cummings, curator of Buckland Abbey in Plymouth, England). The Plate of Brass was discovered a quarter of a mile from where the comparative photograph of San Francisco Bay was taken. The Montanus illustration has never been shown to match any other part of Marin County.

Guild: Resemblance to the view of the shore on the horizon in this print can be found in numerous instances. This kind of detail can be roughed-in so casually by an artist composing an illustration, even as embellishment, that its value as an identifying feature *alone* is questionable.

The use of a photograph taken three-quarters of a mile from where Mr. Power claims that Drake careened and camped is not a valid comparison.

We agree with Dr. Neasham to a point that the print is a fanciful view, but whether entirely so depends upon positive identification of a site by other means.

Neasham: The structures shown in the Montanus drawing may depict Drake's fort or, possibly, Indian habitations.

Power: Both the Guild and Dr. Neasham reject the Montanus illustration as evidence by reviewing the "evident errors" in the illustration. However, they both hedge their opinions. The Guild states it "has comparisons with the Hondius inset and Drake's Cove," while Dr. Neasham allows it "conceivably could be related to . . . Bolinas Lagoon."

Neither have produced a photograph of their comparisons, and until they do present a visual comparison, the Montanus illustration must be considered as either fanciful or San Francisco Bay and not “related to many spots in California including Bolinas Lagoon” or Drakes Estero.

Guild: Compare the Montanus print with photos and drawings of Drake’s Cove, and note particularly the high bluffs on the north side and approach route from inland.

Striped tents are not Indian habitations; accounts describe them as conical.

Neasham: The Montanus drawing *is* fanciful.

Power: The Guild effectively states that the value of the Montanus illustration “depends upon positive identification of a site by other means.” This is exactly what I illustrated in my opening statements. The Montanus view has become a very significant Tenet favoring San Francisco Bay because it correlates with the discovery site of the Plate of Brass, a good careenage site, and the location of Drake’s fort as indicated in the comparison and correlation of the San Francisco Bay map and the *Portus Novae Albionis*.

Tenet 18

What is the significance of the Declarations by the Spanish Captain Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño and others who were with him who were shipwrecked in 1595 in the bay presently known as Drakes Bay? (see p. 287).

Guild: The Cermeño account gives a comparative record of navigation into Drakes Bay in 1595 in a ship of similar size and type as Drake’s. The description is similar to Hakluyt’s account of Drake entering a good bay. There is also a hint of Drake’s prior presence.

We see Cermeño sailing close under Point Reyes, rounding up into Drakes Bay toward Drakes Estero, taking soundings along the course, and finally coming to anchor off the estero.

Cermeño gives evidence that Drake could have entered the estero by recording that at high tide there were three fathoms of water on the bar outside, about 16.5 feet. The *Golden Hinde*’s deep draft was 13 feet.

Nowhere does Cermeño deny Drake’s prior presence, and he leaves a hint that he saw evidence. Writing about Indian weapons, he recorded, “They had bows and arrows and we could find no other kind of iron with which to cut a weapon or anything else” (see p. 288). Did he see iron in connection with the bows and arrows, perhaps iron arrow points made by Drake’s blacksmith? We suspect so.

Neasham: So far as the Drake expedition is concerned, the most important fact about Cermeño’s visit in 1595 was that he made no mention of Drake whatsoever. In fact, his reference to “no other iron” indicates there was no evidence of Europeans ever having been at Drakes Bay. If Drake landed at Bolinas Lagoon, Cermeño, who did not visit that area, would not have seen the fort or artifacts the English left behind. Sailing southward from Drakes Bay between the Farallones and the mainland in an open boat on his departure, Cermeño also failed to sight San Francisco Bay.

Power: The Cermeño account is very significant in that the experience encountered in Drakes Bay in 1595 by the Spanish can be correlated with Drake’s experience in the

Bay of Nova Albion in 1579. There are far more dissimilarities between the Cermeño and Drake accounts than there are similarities, strongly suggesting that Drake did not visit the Drakes Bay area.

Drake's *Golden Hinde* safely entered an inner harbor on the day of arrival; Cermeño never did take the *San Agustín* into an inner harbor. Drake experienced complete nautical safety, while the *San Agustín* was wrecked on Drakes Bay beach.

Cermeño reported that the Indians at Drakes Bay ate crabs as one of their principal foods. Drake never mentions this delectable creature, which is strictly a coastal food.

Drake saw many more Indians than Cermeño. According to *The World Encompassed* the king himself had a "guard of about 100 tall and warlike men" complemented by "a great assembly of men, women and children" (see p. 282 and 281). Cermeño never saw more than a hundred adult Indians at one time. This differential reflects the demographic difference between east and west Marin County when the Coast Miwok lived there.⁷³

Drake took overnight to reach the Farallones, while Cermeño in his survival launch passed those islands on the day of departure.

Guild: Cermeño remained at anchor in Drakes Bay for the simple reason that there was no need of kedging his fully laden ship into Drakes Estero. He assumed that the bay was safe, for his worst weather had come from the northwest, and he intended to stay only long enough to assemble a prefabricated launch.

Mention of Drake's victuals as "Muscles, Scales, and such like" is sufficient to encompass crabs, but while we know that the Indians ate them, what evidence is there that Drake's men would have eaten them?

Regarding numbers of Indians seen by each expedition, Drake saw a great number on *one* occasion because they came from inland especially to see the English. No such delegation visited Cermeño.

If Cermeño said of the Indians that he saw "no other iron," what iron did he see? Indians here are not known to have used iron.

Neasham: Cermeño gave no evidence in his account that other Europeans had ever been at Drakes Bay, let alone Drake. Surely, he would have mentioned the fort which Drake had left behind. Even if Cermeño had put up his fortification on Limantour Spit to the east, a mile or two away, he would have seen Drake's fort at the estero entrance. Why did he not mention it? If there, would he not have used it, rather than to go to all the work of building his own? One wonders also why Cermeño had not taken his ship into the protection of the inner estero, if it was such a good spot for Drake. Instead, Cermeño remained at anchor outside the bar, until blown ashore in a winter storm from the southwest.

As to Cermeño's mention of "no other kind of iron," there is nothing to indicate that the Indians had arrows made by Drake's blacksmiths. The wording speaks for itself: "They had bows and arrows and we could find no other kind of iron with which to cut a weapon or anything else." To this writer this means the Indians had bows and arrows, but not any kind of iron with which to cut weapons or other things. Of the more than 800 non-Indian artifacts found in Indian sites near the estero of Drakes Bay, no English iron arrow point has been discovered. Iron ship spikes and bars, yes, in all probability utilized by the natives after Cermeño's wreck and departure.

Power: The Guild's sole evidence that there was sufficient water in Drake's time over the bar at Drakes Estero is Cermeño's report of 3 fathoms over the bar, which the Guild translates as meaning 16.5 feet. The *Golden Hinde's* draft was stated as 13 feet, so a flotation differential of 3.5 feet is indicated. However, "3 fathoms" is a rounded number, as is "draft of 13 feet," and not a precise reading down to the inch, so that the figures

really express depths ranging from 2.5 to 3.5 fathoms and drafts ranging from 12.5 to 13.5 feet.

Therefore, 3 fathoms can be any depth between 13.5 feet and 18.5 feet. The former is too shallow to allow the *Golden Hinde* with a potential draft of 13.5 to safely enter Drakes Estero. This could explain why Cermeño did not enter Drakes Estero with the *San Augustin* which the Guild says was similar in size and type to the *Golden Hinde*.

I have no disagreement with Dr. Neasham on this tenet.

Guild: Regarding draft of the *Golden Hinde* versus depth on the bar at Drakes Estero, we disagree with Mr. Power's assumption about rounding off figures. Notation of ship's draft can be expected to be *maximum*. Depth on the bar can be expected to be *minimum* and would be expressed to the nearest half or quarter fathom, not the nearest whole fathom.

In our observations of Drake's Cove we have seen evidence that the beach was overtopped by the sea many times. All traces of a sand and loose stone fort would have vanished long before Cermeño arrived sixteen years later. Under changed conditions, the site was probably too exposed to winter weather in November.

Regarding "no other kind of iron," the word "other" (*otro*) speaks for itself and literally indicates that something of iron was seen.

Neasham: The statement of the Guild, "Indians here [at Drakes Bay] are not known to have used iron," speaks for itself.

Power: I see no challenge to my statement, "There are far more dissimilarities between the Cermeño and Drake accounts than there are similarities." To keep the record straight, there is no support in the accounts that the Indian delegation "came from inland" as alleged by the Guild.

As to the question, "What evidence is there that Drake's men would have eaten [crabs]?", on "Crab-Island" near the Celebes Drake's men found that large land crabs would "satisfie foure hungry men at a dinner."⁷⁴

Tenet 19

Discuss the significance of the cartographic information about the California coast contained in Robert Dudley's 1647 atlas, Arcano del Mare, and manuscript chart (see pp. 212-3, 264-5).

Guild: Because Dudley, through family connections and his plans to emulate Drake's voyage while Drake was still alive, was likely to have information on Nova Albion from Drake, his charts showing Drake's anchorage are important sources for locating Drake's haven.

Most significant is his Manuscript Chart No. 85, precedent for the published version in his 1647 atlas, *Arcano del Mare*, Chart No. XXXIII. Dudley probably drew from memory, but the Drake anchorage he shows at latitude 38° is unique to Drakes Bay. In the bay named B: *di Noua Albion* is a small inner waterway corresponding to Drakes Estero named *Il Por:to boniss.mo*, literally "the best of ports." A point on the west side is simply named *La Punta*, much as Point Reyes today is familiarly referred to as "the point." A line of soundings on a northeasterly course to the port corresponds to depths in Drakes Bay. In the published version, the haven is identified only as *Po:to di Nuoua Albion*, port of Nova Albion.



GUILD: In this detail of Dudley's Carta Particolare, Chart No. XXXIII, from Arcano del Mare, the place B:S Michele with an island in its mouth represents Bodega Bay and Bodega Rock. Drake's Bay logically follows at 38° N. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England.

GUILD: Drake's anchorage is at the center of this detail of Dudley's Manuscript Chart No. 85. The depths reflect an entering course to an inner port, Il Por:to boniss.mo. La Punta suggests Point Reyes; Il Por:to, Drake's Estero. Die Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

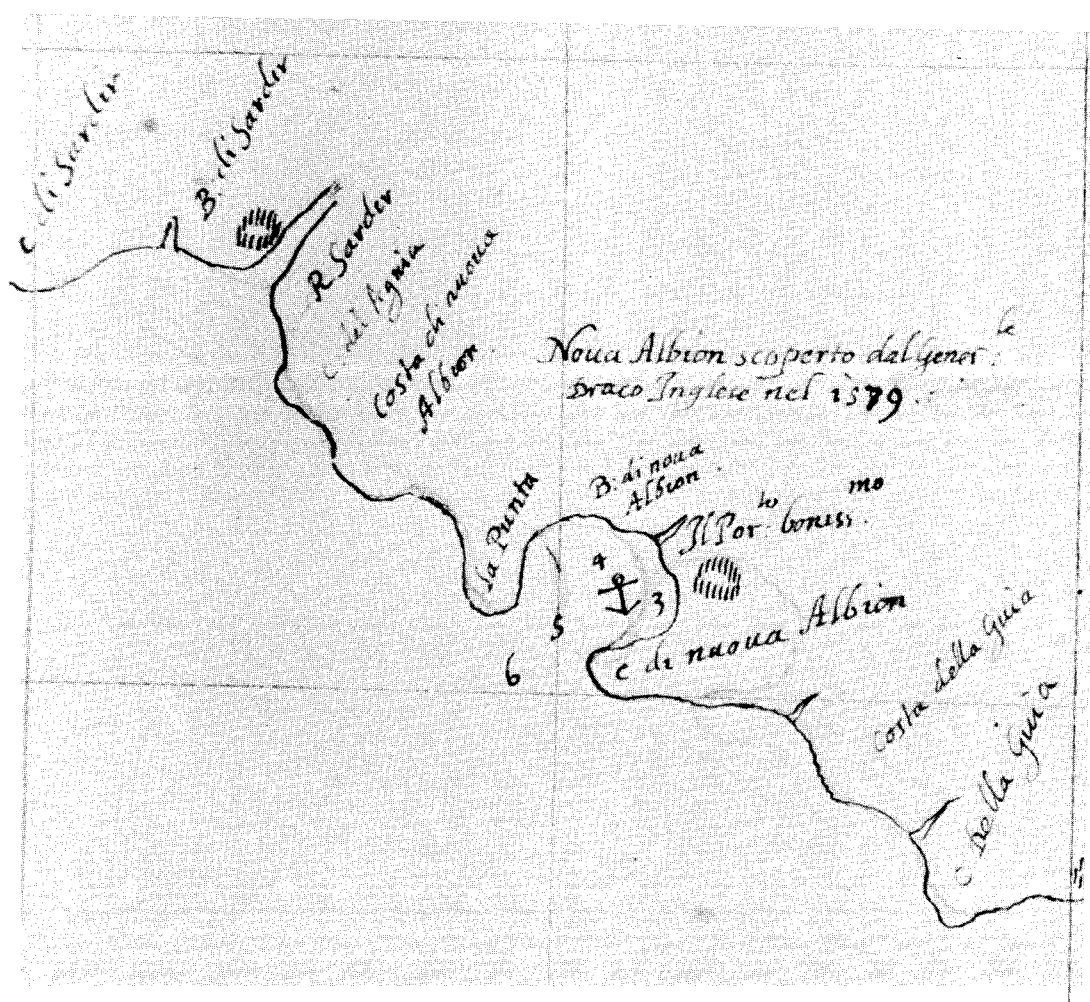
Neasham: The significance of the *Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale* (see p. 212) is that the port of Nova Albion is located in an inner harbor below 38° , about $37^{\circ} 50'$, at the location of Bolinas Bay. Directly to the north a few miles are the Port of Don Gaspar and the Río Salado, names given to Drakes Bay and its estero in 1603 by the Vizcaino expedition.

The *Carta Particolare* (see p. 213) shows an anchorage a little above 38° , but also a few miles below the Bay of San Michele, another name for what is now Drakes Bay. San Michele on the Hondius chart of 1618 is called San Miguel. In the *Carta Particolare* fathom depths of 8, 6, 4, and 3 are given for Drake's anchorage, which essentially agree with the 6, 5, 4, 3 given on the Manuscript Map No. 85. Indicated on this manuscript map, in the relative positions of the Port of Don Gaspar and Río Salado of the *Sub-map* and San Michele of the *Carta Particolare*, are the Bay of Sardir and the Río Sardir, sometimes called Sardina.

This writer, believing in the authenticity of Dudley's *Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale*, was able, thus, to find in 1973 the probable remains of Drake's fort on the west shore of Bolinas Lagoon.

Power: Although Robert Dudley may have been in a position as a young man to have gained special knowledge about the Drake voyage, it is not established that he did gain such information, and therefore, there is no demonstrated significance in the two charts he published a half century later in his monumental *Dell' Arcano del Mare*.

Dudley's material is not a reliable source of evidence for either Drakes Estero, Bo-



linas, or San Francisco Bay, but if one desires to use his information in favor of one place or another, it would be more positive for San Francisco Bay than any other anchorage.

Guild: None of the three relevant Dudley charts shows anything corresponding to San Francisco Bay. Chart No. XXXIII and Manuscript Chart No. 85 show a track of soundings that do not correspond with the very deep depths of the Golden Gate. Nor can Dudley's bays be compared with the Gulf of the Farallones as a whole for the same reason.

None of the pertinent Dudley charts shows anything comparable to Bolinas Lagoon, whether one acknowledges the barrier beach or not. Dudley shows no sign of Duxbury Reef, and while there are soundings in Bolinas Bay that compare with his, a ship cannot take the course indicated by them without running afoul of the reef. And Duxbury Point is hardly significant enough to be called *La Punta*.

The 1618 Hondius map⁷⁵ is so distorted and corrupted that it is worthless as a source pertaining to early navigations. Where Dr. Neasham sees Drakes Bay in *B. de S. Miguel* on this map is beyond comprehension. It is located in 46° N. with a very large island at its mouth. *San Miguel* was the name that Cabrillo gave to San Diego Harbor.

Neasham: Davidson in 1889 identified Drake's anchorage as Drakes Bay. He based his conclusion partly on the similarity of Hondius' *Portus Novæ Albionis* and Dudley's Drake anchorage as shown in the *Carta Prima Generale*, *Carta Particolare*, and Manuscript Chart No. 85. As stated, Drake's anchorage on these charts is shown directly south of the port of Don Gaspar, the Bay of San Michele, and the Bay of Sardir, which Davidson incorrectly identified as Bodega and Tomales bays, not having the information used by later scholars.⁷⁶

Advocates of the estero of Drakes Bay as Drake's anchorage, taking Davidson's conclusions for granted, also have placed Drake's anchorage mistakenly in Drakes Bay. *Il Por:to boniss.^{mo}* of the Manuscript Chart No. 85 is identified with the inner harbor of Bolinas Bay, which formerly had similar fathom depths.

The statement that the Dudley charts are more positive for San Francisco Bay than any other anchorage is denied. Neither in size, shape, or fathom depths can the Dudley charts be compared to San Francisco Bay. San Francisco Bay, not seen by Drake, and as shown by the Spanish after its discovery by Portolá, was much larger and deeper than Bolinas Bay and Drakes Bay. The Dudley charts on the other hand show Drakes Bay (Don Gaspar, San Michele, and Sardir) to be approximately the same size of the bay to the south (or slightly larger) in which Drake anchored.

Power: The Guild selects two out of three of Robert Dudley's charts which depict a bay of Nova Albion, one in manuscript form and the other published in Florence in 1646-7, to bolster their case for Drakes Estero.

The Guild reluctantly admits "Dudley probably drew [Drakes anchorage] from memory" and speculates that he gained his information "while Drake was living," which, by 1646, would have required over a half-century of recall of cartographic detail.

The amazing part of the Guild's claim is that Dudley's efforts in no way resemble Drakes Bay and/or Estero. The manuscript chart depicts a bay eighteen miles in diameter and the published version is expanded to twenty-four miles in diameter. The latter is three times wider than the widest part of Drakes Bay. Both bays have a "mouth" rather than a gulf configuration. The so-called "inner waterway" that they see as Drakes Estero is merely a diagrammatic river entrance symbol which Dudley used repeatedly on his numerous maps.



POWER: Dudley's Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale, from *Arcano del Mare*, proves he did not believe Drake landed in Drakes Bay (P. di don Gasper) nor in Drakes Estero (R. Salado), but near the Golden Gate. Dr. Neasham uses an inaccurate 1890 "pen and ink" copy of this map in his comparison with the *Portus Plan* on page 252. Robert H. Power Collection.

The legend *Il Por:to boniss.mo*, literally the "best of ports," fits San Francisco Bay, but certainly not Drakes Estero.

The Guild silently rejects Dudley's other map in his *Dell Arcano del Mare*, the Sub-map of the Carta Prima, for a very good reason. They reject it because, as noted by Dr. Neasham, it establishes that Dudley believed Drake had not anchored in the bay today called Drakes Bay which he identified in $38^{\circ} 45'$ as P. di Don Gasper. Instead, he created a southerly anchorage in about $37^{\circ} 50'$ which he identifies as P. dell nuovo Albion. . . . This not only corresponds in approximate location, as noted by Neasham, to Bolinas Lagoon, but also to the Golden Gate. The scale establishes that Dudley again depicted a large harbor eighteen by twenty-four miles across

There is absolutely no claim Dr. Neasham can make for this map that does not

equally apply to San Francisco Bay, and its size makes it far more like San Francisco Bay in nature than Bolinas Lagoon.

Guild: Dudley's *Arcano del Mare* was published in 1646–47. It required eight years to engrave. Manuscript Chart No. 85 is undated, but most certainly his manuscript atlas preceded the engraved atlas.

Manuscript Chart No. 85 and Chart No. XXXIII show that Dudley considered Drake's anchorage to be the southern of two bays. We conclude the northern represents Bodega Bay, thereby making the other Drakes Bay.

For his *Sub-map of the Carta Prima*, Dudley appears to have cribbed from a map by John Daniel which showed only Vizcaino's *P. de Don Gaspar* in $38^{\circ}30'$,⁷⁷ but Dudley added the two-bay concept below that port with Drake's anchorage in about 38° , evidently regarding Vizcaino's port as a new discovery.

Compared with Dudley's bay, *Il Por:to boniss.^{mo}* is on the wrong side of Bolinas Lagoon, and nothing on the northeast side compares with Dudley's inlet. Also, the axis of Bolinas Lagoon is 90° away from Dudley's bay and tapered instead of rounded in form.

Neasham: Dudley's depiction of the latitude of Drake's anchorage south of the port of Don Gaspar and Río Salado, at about $37^{\circ}50'$, would apply to both Bolinas Bay and San Francisco Bay.⁷⁸ Because Drake did not enter San Francisco Bay, his landing can be ascribed only to Bolinas Lagoon.

As to *B. de S. Miguel* on the 1618 Hondius map, it is agreed this is not a good source, its latitudes being far too high. What this writer had in mind, however, was that San Miguel in Spanish, San Michele in French, and St. Michael in English have the same meaning. Therefore it is not surprising that Hondius used San Miguel instead of Dudley's San Michele to denote Drakes Bay.

Power: The Guild's rebuttal statement, "None of the three Dudley charts involved shows anything corresponding to San Francisco Bay," appears to be deliberately deceptive. Two Dudley charts could represent any anchorage Drake used in the vicinity of 38° since these charts appear to be entirely composed of imaginary geographic forms.⁷⁹

However, the principal deception concerns the remaining Dudley chart, the *Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale*. This is a real map of California compiled by the Vizcaino expedition of 1602–03, and it does depict in $38^{\circ}45'P^{\circ}$ *di don Gaspar* (Drakes Bay)⁸⁰ and *R. Salado* (Drakes Estero).⁸¹ However, Dudley rejected both of these as the anchorage of Drake and inserted into this Vizcaino map an anchorage just below 38° marked *P^{\circ} dell nuovo Albion*, which establishes beyond all challenge the fact that Dudley did not believe Drake landed at Drakes Bay or Estero.

Tenet 20

What is the significance of the account of Drake's pilot, N. de Morena, who claimed that he had been put ashore at an "arm of the sea" which he believed connected with the Gulf of California and the Atlantic Ocean? (see p. 286).

Guild: The account states that Drake left Morena at the place (*paraje*) of an arm of the sea, and, significantly, that Morena had discovered this arm which he interpreted to be

both a passage to the Atlantic and an inland passage connecting with the Gulf of California, in effect making California an island.

From Drakes Bay, Morena had inadvertently come upon the Golden Gate and San Francisco Bay. He probably did not see the termination of the southern end of the bay, and the northern end of the bay would have seemed possibly to go on across the continent. Indians probably ferried him across the bay.

Morena was tremendously impressed, and it is likely that his story had an effect on Spanish authorities. Cermeño, for example, probably knew of Morena's "arm of the sea" and planned to find it. He would also know that not far north of it he would find Drake's bay where he could set up a launch to explore the passage.

The earliest hint of Morena's reference to California as an island occurs in the Hondius Broadside text; others appear in the Bry's *America Achter Teil* (Frankfurt, c. 1599) and in Antonio de Herrera's Drake account, *Historia General del Mundo* (1606).

Neasham: Morena's account that he had been left in California by Drake can be regarded only as secondary information, and, possibly, hearsay. It is doubtful that data about the existence of San Francisco Bay, if supplied by him, ever reached official ears in Spain. If it had, it would have been recorded. Under the rigid Spanish colonial system, from the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries every expedition was required by law to give an accurate account of its activities, where it had gone, and what it had done and seen. The archives in Spain are full of such accounts. Also applied to individuals, this policy was a means of maintaining control over a vast, far-flung empire, world-wide in scope.

Had Morena's journey been so recorded and the existence of the present San Francisco Bay been known, then Portolá, the official Spanish discoverer of San Francisco Bay, would not have been so astonished in 1769 to find the great inland estuary (present San Francisco Bay) blocking his way in his attempt from Monterey to reach the *Bahía de San Francisco*, as Drakes Bay was then called, having been so named by Cermeño in 1595.

Power: Drake's Portuguese pilot, N. de Morena, in a report to the Governor of New Galicia (Mexico), Rodrigo del Rio, in about 1583 claimed to have been left behind by Francis Drake in the Strait of Anian, more dead than alive. He soon recovered his health, he claimed, and in the next four years he walked through the land, sighted the Gulf of California, and then continued southward until he reached the capitol of New Galicia. He hypothesized that the Gulf of California went northward to join with the place where the Englishman had put him ashore. He offered to take the governor back to Drake's stopping place on an arm of the sea, and there they could easily cross to the other side. The viewing of the San Francisco Peninsula as an island is a fair observation from southern Marin County because there is no visible end to San Francisco Bay from that vantage point.

There is no other explanation of N. de Morena's story than to assume that in his mind he did link San Francisco Bay and the Gulf of California.

Guild: The significance of Fra. Zárate Salmeron's relation of Morena's account in identifying Drake's landing place is that Morena stated he saw what is presently known as San Francisco Bay.

If Morena had been with Drake in San Francisco Bay he would not have been under the illusion that a passage existed to the Atlantic or the Gulf of California, because Drake's explorations would have disproved that assumption.

Although Morena's account has not come to light in the Spanish Archives, this fact does not arbitrarily make it untrue or dubious. It is likely that Morena's account was

simply too dangerous to the interests of New Spain to have been put in writing. Another account not found in the archives is that of Juan de Fuca, who is credited with discovery of the strait bearing his name.

Neasham: Had Morena seen San Francisco Bay and conjectured that it was connected with the Gulf of California, thus causing California to be shown on some maps of the seventeenth century as an island (proven otherwise by later explorations which reached the mouth of the Colorado River), he must have believed he had reached the fabled Strait of Anian marking the Northwest Passage. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not finding San Francisco Bay, the Spanish put little faith in such a passage in California, particularly after Cermeño in 1595 and Vizcaino in 1603 had conducted explorations along this part of the coast. Had there been a belief in the passage in the vicinity of 38°, surely Spain would have exploited it fully for defensive and strategic reasons.

Power: There is agreement with the Guild that at least one member of the Drake expedition saw San Francisco Bay. The Guild makes a minor error as to what Morena reported and experienced. Namely, Morena did not believe that the harbor in the arm of the sea where Drake stopped was a passage to the Atlantic. His statement was that in the "Strait of Anian," i.e., on the northwest coast of America, Drake stopped in a harbor on an arm of the sea and there Drake put Morena on land. In 1579, the Strait of Anian was an imaginary north-south strait separating Asia and America beginning in 40° N. latitude, thus the outer coast of California and Oregon were considered the coast in the "Strait of Anian."

The "arm of the sea" refers to San Francisco Bay, and the harbor correlates to an anchorage at Point San Quentin. It is my opinion that Morena crossed the Straits of San Pablo and not the Golden Gate, so San Francisco remained an "island" in his mind.

Dr. Neasham chooses to discount this legend because it contributes nothing to his case for Bolinas.

Guild: Evidence that Morena considered the northern reaches of San Francisco Bay a possible route to the Atlantic is implicit in the statement "that from the point where they put him ashore he would venture to get to Spain in 40 days in a good ship's tender" (see p. 287). He could not have had the polar route in mind, considering Drake's difficulties.

We concur with Dr. Neasham on this point.

Neasham: Morena's statement, if truthful, that he saw San Francisco Bay does not imply Drake had left him at that exact location. Both Bolinas Bay and San Francisco Bay are in the same general location. Morena would have noted San Francisco Bay while traveling southward to Mexico from Bolinas Bay.

Power: The Guild and I both agree that Drake's pilot, N. de Morena, apparently did report the discovery of San Francisco Bay to the Governor of New Galicia in about 1583. I doubt, however, if Morena would have known Drake's geographic opinions, as he was more "dead than alive" when he was set ashore so the "airs of the land" could give him life.

Morena's opinion was that the harbor where Drake stopped ran southward to join the Gulf of California, but it was very easy to cross the "arm of the sea" in Drake's stopping place to reach the "island" of California which I interpret to be the San Francisco peninsula. If Morena saw San Francisco Bay, it is because Drake left him in a harbor on the "arm of the sea" we call San Francisco Bay.

Summary Statement

Guild: When Drake saw the white cliffs at Drakes Bay, for which he named Nova Albion, he saw the bay and Drakes Estero, and as his purpose was to find a port to careen and refit his ship, logically, he must investigate this haven. He found a suitable cove in the estero and so went no farther south. Only here does the bay, terrain, and weather suit all of the requirements of the historic accounts and Drake's Cove conform to the Hondius inset. Only here is the inland *far* different from the shore.

Neasham: The discovery in 1973 of the remains of Drake's fort at Bolinas Lagoon, if confirmed, would pin-point this as his California landing site in 1579.

The exponents for the estero at Drakes Bay, following the conclusions of Davidson, mistakenly placed Drake's anchorage there. The adherents of San Francisco Bay, not conceding the Drake Plate had not been placed there originally, are also in error. Drake's quest for the Northwest Passage, and his failure to find it, is substantial proof that he did not enter San Francisco Bay.

Power: This debate has demonstrated that Drake discovered San Francisco Bay on June 17, 1579.

The Portus Plan has over ten points of comparison with San Francisco Bay, and the correlation indicates Drake "entrenched himself on land" at Point San Quentin. Up the ridge a mile, the Drake Plate of Brass was discovered in 1936, and just short of that point there is a landscape view that corresponds favorably to the Montanus illustration.

The flora and fauna are heavily favorable to San Francisco Bay, as is the fact Drake discovered and entered "with a good winde" a "very good harbour."

NOTES

1. Manuscript in brass (Drake's "Plate of Brass"), with date of arrival in Nova Albion, in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

2. *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, 34 (Cleveland, 1966. Offset edition of Huntington Library copy of the first edition [London, 1628].)

3. Frank M. Stanger and Alan K. Brown, *Who Discovered the Golden Gate?*, 115 (San Mateo, 1969).

4. Richard Willes and Richard Eden, *The History of Travel in the East and West Indies . . .* (London, 1577). Essay by Willes "For. M. Cap. Furbyshers Passage By the Northwest. . ."

5. Henry R. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800*, vol. 2, p. 282, maps 75, 77, 80, 81, 83, 84 (Berkeley, 1937).

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8. Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1589. Facsimile reprint, Hakluyt Society Extra Series, No. 39, Cambridge, 1965); John Stow, *A Summarie of The Chronicles of England . . .* (London, 1590); William Camden, *Annales* (London, 1615); Jodocus Hondius "Broadside" map text (c. 1595); Theodore de Bry, *Americae Pars VIII* (Frankfort, 1599); and Robert Dudley charts.

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13. Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century*, Appendix VIII, p. 435 (San Francisco, 1929).
14. George Davidson, *Examination of Some of the Early Voyages of Discovery and Exploration on the Northwest Coast of America from 1539 to 1603*, 214 (Report of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington, D.C., 1887).
15. S.S. Hawaiian Planter, voyage No. 20, San Francisco to Portland, Oregon.
16. Davidson, *Pacific Coast / Coast Pilot*, 171 (fourth edition, 1889).
17. Maguerite Eyer Wilbur, ed., *Vancouver in California: The Original Account of George Vancouver*, 1 (Los Angeles, 1954).
18. A. Lincoln, "The Beechey Expedition Visits San Francisco Bay," in *Pacific Discovery*, California Academy of Sciences, 22:1–8 (January–February, 1969).
19. Richard Hakluyt, *The Third and Last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Trafiques, and Discoveries . . .*, vol. III, p. 440 (London, 1600).
20. "Mapa de la Carcel de Sn Quentin y Vecindad by Bullivar Gran, Piloto precedente del bergantin "Rosinante" (circa 1860). "Prepared in 1951 from badly crumpled blueprint map found in dead files" at San Quentin Prison.
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22. Adan E. Treganza, "The Examination of Indian Shellmounds in the Tomales and Drakes Bay Area with Reference to Sixteenth Century Historic Contact," manuscript on file at State of California Department of Parks and Recreation, History Section.
23. Davidson, *Examination of Some of the Early Voyages*, 214.
24. *Entrance to San Francisco Bay*, California Coast Survey Office (Washington, D.C., 1859).
25. Davidson, *Pacific Coast / Coast Pilot*, 76. "[Bolanos] Lagoon . . . except [for] small crooked channels, is bare at low tides, and filled with small inlets."
26. Davidson, *Pacific Coast / Coast Pilot*, 77.
27. "Tide Predictions for Drakes Bay, California, 1579," prepared for the Drake Navigators Guild by the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey (Washington, D.C., 1953).
28. Stanger and Brown, *Who Discovered*, 112.
29. John D. Ritter, *Bolinas Lagoon, Marin County, California: Summary of Sedimentation and Hydrology, 1967–69*, pp. 15–16, 60 (U.S. Geological Survey, Menlo Park, 1973).
30. See *The World Encompassed*; Hakluyt's account; and de Bry, *Americæ, Pars VIII*.
31. Letter from Dr. Kenneth Lajoie, U.S. Geological Survey, Menlo Park, to Robert H. Power, Feb. 26, 1974.
32. Interview with Thomas J. Barfield, Bolinas, 1973.
33. *The World Displayed; or a Curious Collection of Voyages and Travels . . .*, 151 (Dublin, 1779; sixth edition, corrected, printed by James Williams).
34. "Declaration of Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño. Statement by Juan del Rio; Cermeño's ensign," in Wagner, *Spanish Voyages*, 166.
35. See Robert W. Allen, *Identification of "an herbe much like our lecture . . ." (Point Reyes, 1969)*.
36. See Robert W. Allen, *An Examination of the Botanical References in the Accounts Relating to Drake's Encampment at Nova Albion in 1579* (Point Reyes, 1969).
37. See Allen, *Examination of Botanical References*.
38. John Thomas Howell, *Marin Flora*, 219 (Berkeley, 1970).
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40. See Robert W. Allen and Robert W. Parkinson, *Identification of the Nova Albion Conie* (Point Reyes, 1969).
41. Joseph Grinnell and Joseph Dixon, "Natural History of the Ground Squirrel of California," in *The Monthly Bulletin*, 7:625–26 (1918).
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43. *The World Encompassed*, 96–97.

44. Grinnell and Dixon, *Monthly Bulletin*, 7 625-26.
45. Robert H. Power, "Drake's Experience on the San Francisco Bay Shore Commenced the Overseas British Empire," speech delivered to Library Associates, University of California, Davis, in December, 1972. (To be published in 1974.)
46. A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, 274 (Berkeley, 1953).
47. V. Aubrey Neasham and William E. Pritchard, *Drake's California Landing: The Evidence for Bolinas Lagoon*, 16 (Sacramento, 1974)
48. Neasham and Pritchard, *Drake's California Landing*, 22.
49. Walter A. Starr, "Drake Landed in San Francisco Bay in 1579. The Testimony of the Plate of Brass," in *California Historical Quarterly*, 41:3-4 (September, 1962).
50. Robert T. Schenk, ed., *Contribution to the Archaeology of Point Reyes National Seashore: A Compendium in Honor of Adan E. Treganza*, 256 (San Francisco, 1970)
51. Neasham and Pritchard, *Drake's California Landing*, 12, 18.
52. See Raymond Aker, *The Cermeño Expedition at Drakes Bay, 1595* (Point Reyes, 1956).
53. Ritter, *Bolinas Lagoon*, 8
54. Starr, *California Historical Quarterly*, 41:4.
55. "Personalalia and Marginalia," in *California Historical Quarterly*, 41:192 (June, 1937).
56. Leon Bocqueraz, "Finding the Drake Plate," a taped interview by Willa Baum, under the auspices of University Libraries Cultural History Project, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, on November 9, 1955 and January 10, 1956.
57. *The Plate of Brass: Evidence of the Visit of Francis Drake to California in the Year 1579*, 16 (San Francisco, 1953).
58. *California Historical Quarterly*, 41:192 (June, 1937).
59. *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 7, 1937. Caption, in part, read, "His chance discovery netted Shinn \$3,500."
60. *California Historical Quarterly*, 41:192 (June, 1937).
61. Colin G. Fink and E. P. Polushkin, *Drake's Plate of Brass Authenticated*, 11 (San Francisco, California Historical Society, Special Publication No. 14, 1938).
62. *California Historical Quarterly*, 41:192 (June, 1937).
63. Bocqueraz interview, 1955.
64. Bolton, Herbert, et al, *Drake's Plate of Brass: Evidence of His Visit to California in 1579* (San Francisco, California Historical Society, Special Publication No. 13, 1937).
65. George Davidson, *Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage on the Coast of California in the Year 1579*, 5, 57 (San Francisco, 1890).
66. Letter to Robert Power from Lt. Cmdr. D. W. Waters, July 13, 1960.
67. Wilbur, *Vancouver in California*, 1.
68. A. D. Fer, *A Short Easy Method to Understand Geography*, 37 (London, [1730?]).
69. Translation of legends of *Vera Totius Expeditionis Nauticae* by Rev. John Casey.
70. Stanger and Brown, *Who Discovered*, 145.
71. As a matter of practice courts in the state of California will admit fingerprint testimony from the FBI for identification of a defendant if there are ten or more points of agreement in fingerprint comparisons.
72. "Question: The Relationship between Arnold Montanus and Petrus Montanus," fourteen-page manuscript and genealogy chart prepared for Robert H. Power (Amsterdam, 1957).
73. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, 274.
74. *The World Encompassed*, 96-97.
75. Davidson, *Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage*, Plate no. 11.
76. Davidson, *Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage*, 17-20, 49. Davidson was unaware, apparently, that the names *Don Gaspar* and *Río Salado* were given to present Drakes Bay and its estero by Gerónimo Palacios, chief cosmographer of the Vizcaino expedition, in 1603.
77. See comparative study in Henry R. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800*, 1:119-21 (Berkeley, 1937).
78. Francisco Carrasco y Guisasaola, *Documentos Referentes al Reconocimiento de las Costa de las Californias . . .*, 170 (Madrid, 1882), quoting the derrotero of Palacios, clearly designates the present Drakes Bay as *Puerto de Don Gaspar*.
79. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast*, vol. 1, p. 122.
80. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast*, vol. 2, p. 448
81. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast*, vol. 2, p. 494

APPENDIX

I. Richard Hakluyt's 1589 Account With Notes to the 1600 Edition

The earliest published account of Drake's voyage appeared in 1589 in Richard Hakluyt's The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation. Six unnumbered leaves were inserted in most copies of the original edition; they were titled, The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea, and there hence about the whole Globe of the Earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord 1577. The following text is from the Hakluyt Society's 1965 facsimile reprint of the 1589 edition.

In his expanded edition titled The Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation . . . , Volume III, published in London in 1600, Hakluyt included the Nova Albion account in two places. In one of these articles he made several changes which are indicated in the footnotes to the excerpt below. The subtitle or caption to the separate Nova Albion article read: The course which Sir Francis Drake held from the hauen of Guatulco, in the South Sea on the backe side of Nueva Espanna, to the Northwest of California as far as fourtie three degrees: and his returne back along the said Coast to thirtie eight degrees; where finding a faire and goodly hauen, he landed and staying there many weekes, and discouering many excellent things in the Countrey and great shewe of rich minerall matter, and being offered the dominion of the countrey by the Lord of the same, he tooke possession thereof in the behalf of her Maiestie, and named it Noua Albion. The full 1600 text is available in the Hakluyt Society edition of 1903-05.

. . . We therefore set saile, and sailed in longitude 600. leagues at the least for a good winde, and thus much we sailed from the 16. of Aprill, till the 3. of Iune.¹

The 5. day of Iune, being in 42. degrees towards the pole Arctike, we found the aire so colde, that our men being greeuously pinched with the same, complained of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more colde increased vpon vs. Whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke the land, and did so, finding it not mountanous, but lowe plaine land, & clad, and couered ouer with snowe, so that we drew backe againe without landing, till we came within 38. degrees towards the line. In which heighth it pleased God to send vs into a faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the same.²

In this Baye we ankered,³ and the people of the Countrey, hauing their houses close by the waters side, shewed themselues vnto vs, and sent a present to our Generall.

When they came vnto vs, they greatly wondred at the things that we brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) curteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessarie things to couer their nakednes, whereupon they supposed vs to be gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrarie; the presents which they sent to our Generall, were feathers, and cals of networke.

Their houses are digged round about with earth, and haue from the vttermost brimmes of the circle, clifts of wood set vpon them, ioyning close together at the toppe like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closenes are very warme.

Their beds is the ground with rushes strowed on it, and lying about the house, haue the fire

1. *The Course* reads, ". . . and sayled 800 leagues at the least for a good winde, and thus much we sayled from the 16th of Aprill, after our olde stile, till the third of Iune."

2. *The Course* reads, "The fift day of Iune, being in fortie three degrees towards the pole Arcticke, being speedily come out of the extreame heat, wee found the ayre so colde, that our men being pinched with the same, complained of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went the more the cold increased upon us; whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but lowe plain land and we drew backe again without landing, til we came within thirtie eight degrees towards the line. In which height, it pleased God to send us into a faire and good Bay, with a good winde to enter the same."

3. *The Course* adds the date, "the seuenteenth of Iune, and. . ."

in the midst The men goe naked, the women take bulrushes, and kembe them after the manner of hempe, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang downe about their hippes, hauing also about their shoulders a skinne of Deere, with the haire vpon it. These women are very obedient and seruiceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from vs, they came and visited vs the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of TOBACCO for presents: And when they came to the top of the hill (at the bottome whereof we had pitched our tents) they staied themselues: where one appointed for speaker, wearied himselfe with making long oration, which done, they left their bowes vpon the hill, and came downe with their presents.

In the meane time, the women remaining on the hill, tormented themselues lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes, whereby we perceiued that they were about a sacrifice. In the meane time, our Generall, with his companie, went to praier, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentiuie, & seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come vnto vs, they restored again vnto vs those things which before we bestowed vpon them.

The newes of our being there, being spread through the Countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them the King himselfe, a man of goodly stature, & comely personage, with many other tall, and warlike men: before whose coming were sent two Ambassadors to our Generall, to signifie that their King was comming, in doing of which message, their speech was continued about halfe an howre. This ended, they by signes requested our General to send some thing by their hand to their King, as a token that his comming might be in peace: wherein our Generall hauing satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their King, who marched to vs with a princely maiestie, the people crying continually after their manner, and as they drewe neere vnto vs, so did they strue to behaue themselues in their actions with comelines.

In the fore front was a man of goodly personage, who bare the scepter, or mace before the King, whereupon hanged two crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three chaines of a maruelous length: the crownes were made of knit worke wrought artificially with fethers of diuers colours: the chaines were made of a bonie substance, and few be the persons among them that are admitted to weare them: and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some 12. &c. Next vnto him which bare the scepter, was the King himselfe, with his Garde about his person, clad with Conie skins, & other skins: after them followed the naked common sort of people, euery one hauing his face painted, some with white, some with blacke, and other colours, & hauing in their handes one thing or another for a present, not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents.

In the meane time, our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approaching, a very warlike shwee. They being trooped together in their order, and a general salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. Then he that bare the scepter before the King, being informed by another, whome they assigned to that office, with a manly and loftie voice, proclaimed that which the other spake to him in secret, continuing halfe an howre: which ended, and a generall AMEN as it were giuen, the King with the whole number of men, and women (the children excepted) came downe without any weapon, who descending to the foote of the hill, set themselues in order.

In comming towards our bulwarks and tents, the scepter bearer began a song, obseruing his measures in a daunce, and that with a stately countenance, whom the King with his Garde, and euery degree of persons following, did in like manner sing and daunce, sauing onely the women which daunced, & kept silence. The Generall permitted them to enter within our bulwarke, where they continued their song and daunce a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselues, they made signes to our General to sit downe, to whom the King, and diuers others made seuerall orations, or rather supplications, that he would take their prouince & kingdome into his hand, and become their King, making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subiects. In which, to perswade vs the better, the King and the rest, with one consent, and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, did set the crowne vpon his head, enriched his necke with all their chaines, and offred vnto him many other things, honouring him by the name of HIOH, adding thereunto as it seemed, a signe of triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reiect, because he knewe not what honour and profite it might be to our Countrey Wherefore in the name, and to the vse of her Maestie, he took the scepter,

crowne, and dignitie of the said Countrey into his hands, wishing that the riches & treasure thereof might so conueniently be transported to the enriching of her kingdome at home, as it aboundeth in ye same.

The common sorte of people leauing the King, and his Garde with our Generall, scattered themselves together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of euery person: and such as pleased their fancie, (which were the yongest) they inclosing them about offred their sacrifices vnto them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nailes, whereof issued abundance of bloode. But wee used signes to them of disliking this, and staied their hands from force, and directed them upwards to the liuing God, whome onely they ought to worshipping. They shewed vnto vs their wounds, and craued helpe of them at our hands, whereupon wee gaue them lotions, plaisters, and ointments agreeing to the state of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their diseases. Euery thirde day they brought their sacrifices vnto vs, vntill they vnderstoode our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them: yet they could not be long absent from vs, but daily frequented our companie to the houre of our departure, which departure, seemed so greuous vnto them that their ioy was turned into sorrow. They intreated vs, that being absent we would remember them, and by stelth prouided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

Our necessarie business being ended, our Generall with his companie trauailed vp into the Countrey to their villages, where wee found herdes of Deere by 1000. in a companie, being most large, and fat of bodie.

We found the whole Countrey to be a warren of a strange kind of Conies, their bodies in bignes as be the Barbarie Connies, their heads as the heads of ours, the feete of a Want, and the taile of a Rat being of great length: vnder her chinne on either side a bagge, into the which she gathereth her meate, when she hath filled her bellie abroad. The people eat their bodies, and make great accompt of their skinned, for their Kings coate was made of them.

Our Generall called this Countrey, NOUA ALBION, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which lie towards the sea: and the other, because it might haue some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometime was so called.

There is no part of the earth here to be taken vp, wherein there is not a reasonable quantitie of gold or siluer.⁴

At our departure hence our General set vp a monument of our being there, as also of her Maiesties right and title to the same, namely a plate, nailed vpon a faire great poste, whereupon was ingrauen her Maiesties name, the day and yeare of our arriual there, with the free giuing vp of the prouince and people into her Maiesties hands, together with her highnes picture and armes, in a peece of sixe pence of current English money vnder the plate, where vnder was also written the name of our Generall.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had neuer bene in this part of the Countrey, neither did euer discover the land by many degrees, to the Southwards of this place.⁵

After we had set saile from hence, we continued without sight of land till the 13. day of October following . . .

4. *The Course* reads, "... not some speciall likelihood of gold or silver."

5. *The Course* ends here.

The Catalogue or table of contents in the 1600 edition of Hakluyt's Voyages carried this notice for the Drake article:

Certaine voyages made for the discovery of the gulfes of California,
and of the sea-coast on the Northwest or backside of America.

The voyage and course which sir Francis Drake held from the hauen of Cuertulco, on the backside of Neuea Espanna, to the Northwest of California, as far as 43 degrees & from thence back againe to 38 degrees, where in a vary good harbour he graued his shippe, entrenched himselfe on land, called the countrey by the name of Noua Albion, and tooke possession thereof on the behalfe of her Maiestie.

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II. *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*

Another early account to appear in print, *The World Encompassed*, was apparently written a few years after Drake's return to England but not published until 1628, thirty-nine years after the Hakluyt version. For information on the visit in Nova Albion, both accounts relied heavily on the narrative of Francis Fletcher, preacher on the *Golden Hinde*. The relevant portion of Fletcher's narrative or notes have never been located, a fact which has frustrated historians to this day.

Reproduced below is the title page from the 1628 edition and the narrative (pp. 62–82) of the visit to Nova Albion, which has been transcribed from the Huntington Library's photo-reproduced edition of 1966.

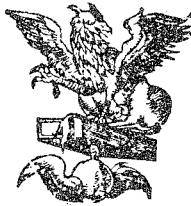
THE VVORLD Encompassed

By
Sir FRANCIS DRAKE,

Being his next voyage to that to *Nombre
de Dios* formerly imprinted;

Carefully collected out of the notes of Master
FRANCIS FLETCHER Preacher in this im-
ployment, and diners others his followers in
the same:

Offered now at last to publique view, both for the honour of
the actor, but especially for the stirring vp of *heroick spirits*,
to benefit their Countrie, and eternize their names
by like noble attempts.



LONDON,

Printed for NICHOLAS BOVRNE
and are to be sold at his shop at the
Royall Exchange. 1628.

From Guatulco we departed the day following, viz. Aprill 16, setting our course directly into the sea, whereon we sayled 500 leagues in longitude, to get a winde: and betweene that and Iune 3, 1400 leagues in all, till we came into 42 deg. of North latitude, where in the night following we found such alteration of heate, into extreame and nipping cold, that our men in generall did grievously complaine thereof, some of them feeling their healths much impaired thereby; neither was it that this chanced in the night alone, but the day following carried with it not onely the markes, but the stings and force of the night going before, to the great admiration of vs all; for besides that the pinching and biting aire was nothing altered, the very roapes of our ship were stiffe, and the raine which fell was an vnnatural congealed and frozen substance, so that we seemed rather to be in the frozen Zone than any way so neere vnto the sun, or these hotter climates.

Neither did this happen for the time onely, or by some sudden accident, but rather seemes indeede to proceed from some ordinary cause, against the which the heate of the sun preuailes not; for it came to that extremity in sayling but 2 deg. farther to the Northward in our course, that though sea-men lack not good stomaches, yet it seemed a question to many amongst vs, whether their hands should feed their mouthes, or rather keepe themselues within their couerts from the pinching cold that did benumme them. Neither could we impute it to the tendernes of our bodies, though we came lately from the extremitie of heate, by reason whereof we might be more sensible of the present cold: insomuch as the dead and sencelesse creatures were as well affected with it as ourselues: our meate, as soone as it was remooued from the fire, would presently in a manner be frozen vp, and our ropes and tackling in a few dayes were growne to that stiffnesse, that what 3 men afore were able with them to performe, now 6 men, with their best strength and vttermost endeaour, were hardly able to accomplish: whereby a sudden and great discouragement ceased vpon the mindes of our men, and they were possessed with a great mislike and doubting of any good to be done that way; yet would not our general be discouraged, but as wel by comfortable speeches, of the diuine providence, and of God's louing care ouer his children, out of the Scriptures; as also by other good and profitable perswasions, adding thereto his own cheerfull example, he so stirred them vp to put on a good courage, and to quite themselues like men, to indure some short extremity to haue the speedier comfort, and a little trouble to obtaine the greater glory, that euery man was throughly armed with willingnesse and resolved to see the uttermost, if it were possible, of what good was to be done that way.

The land in that part of America, bearing farther out into the West than we before imagined, we were neerer on it then wee were aware; and yet the neerer still wee came vnto it, the more extremitie of cold did cease vpon vs. The 5 day of Iune. wee were forced by contrary windes to runne in with the shoare, which we then first descried, and to cast anchor in a bad bay, the best roade we could for the present meete with, where wee were not without some danger by reason of the many extreme gusts and flawes that beate vpon vs, which if they ceased and were still at any time, immediately vpon their intermission there followed most uile, thicke, and stinking fogges, against which the sea preuailed nothing, till the gusts of wind againe remoued them, which brought with them such extremity and violence when they came, that there was no dealing or resisting against them.

In this place was no abiding for vs; and to go further North, the extremity of the cold (which had now vtterly discouraged our men) would not permit vs; and the winds directly bent against vs, hauing once gotten vs under sayle againe, commanded vs to the Southward whether we would or no.

From the height of 48 deg., in which now we were, to 38, we found the land, by coasting alongst it, to bee but low and reasonable plaine; euery hill (whercof we saw many, but none verie high), though it were in Iune, and the Sunne in his neerest approch vnto them, being couered with snow.

In 38 deg. 30 min. we fell with a conuenient and fit harborough, and Iune 17 came to anchor therein: where we continued till the 23 day of Iuly following. During all which time, notwithstanding it was in the height of Summer, and so neere the Sunne; yet were wee continually visited with like nipping colds as we had felt before; insomuch that if violent exercises of our bodies, and busie employment about our necessarie labours, had not sometimes compelled us to the contrary, we could very well haue been contented to haue kept about us still our Winter clothes; yea (had our necessities suffered vs) to haue kept our beds; neither could we at any time, in whole fourteene dayes together, find the aire so cleare as to be able to take the height of Sunne or starre.

And here hauing so fit occasion (notwithstanding it may seeme to be besides the purpose of

writing the history of this our voyage), we will a little more diligently inquire into the causes of the continuance of the extreame cold in these parts, as also into the probabilities or vnlikelihoods of a passage to be found that way. Neither was it (as hath formerly beene touched) the tendernesse of our bodies, comming so lately out of the heate, whereby the poores were opened, that made vs so sensible of the colds we here felt: in this respect, as in many others, we found our God a prouident Father and carefull Physitian for vs. We lacked no outward helps nor inward comforts to restore and fortifie nature, had it beene decayed or weakened in vs: neither was there wanting to vs the great experience of our Generall, who had often himselfe proued the force of the burning Zone, whose aduice alwayes preuailed much to the preseruing of a moderate temper in our constitutions; so that euen after our departure from the heate wee alwayes found our bodies, not as sponges, but strong and hardned, more able to beare out cold, though we came out of excesse of heate, then a number of chamber champions could haue beene, who lye on their feather beds till they go to sea, or rather, whose teeth in a temperate aire do beate in their heads at a cup of cold Sack and sugar by the fire.

And that it was not our tendernes, but the very extremitie of the cold itselfe, that caused this sensibleness in vs, may the rather appeare, in that the naturall inhabitants of the place (with whom we had for a long season familiar intercourse, as is to be related), who had neuer beene acquainted with such heate, to whom the countrey, ayre, and climate was proper, and in whom custome of cold was as it were a second nature; yet vsed to come shiuering to vs in their warme furies, crowding close together, body to body, to receiue heate one of another, and sheltring themselves vnder a lee bancke, if it were possible, and as often as they could labouring to shroude themselves vnder our garments also to keepe them warme. Besides, how vnhandsome and deformed appeared the face of the earth itselfe! shewing trees without leaues, and the ground without greennes in those moneths of Iune and Iuly. The poore birds and foules not daring (as we had great experience to obserue it), not daring so much as once to arise from their nests after the first egge layed, till it, with all the rest, be hatched and brought to some strength of nature, able to helpe itselfe. Onely this recompence hath nature afforded them, that the heate of their owne bodies being exceeding great, it perfecteth the creature with greater expedition, and in shorter time then is to be found in many places.

As for the causes of this extremity, they seeme not to be so deeply hidden but that they may, at least in part, be guessed at. The chieffest of which we conceiue to be the large spreading of the Asian and American continent, which (somewhat Northward of these parts), if they be not fully ioyned, yet seeme they to come very neere one to the other. From whose high and snow-couered mountaines, the North and North-west winds (the constant visitants of those coasts) send abroad their frozen nimphes, to the infecting the whole aire with this insufferable sharpnesse: not permitting the Sunne, no, not in the pride of his heate, to dissolve that congealed matter and snow, which they haue breathed out so nigh the Sunne, and so many degrees distant from themselves. And that the North and North-west winds are here constant in Iune and Iuly, as the North wind alone is in August and September, we not onely found it by our owne experience, but were fully confirmed in the opinion thereof, by the continued obseruations of the Spaniards. Hence comes the generall squalidnesse and barrennesse of the countrey; hence comes it, that in the midst of their Summer, the snow hardly departeth euen from their very doores, but is neuer taken away from their hils at all; hence come those thicke mists and most stinking fogges, which increase so much the more, by how much higher the pole is raised: wherein a blind pilot is as good as the best director of a course. For the Sunne struiuing to performe his naturall office, in eleuating the vapors out of these inferior bodies, draweth necessarily abundance of moisture out of the sea; but the nipping cold (from the former causes) meeting and opposing the Sunnes indeuour, forces him to giue ouer his worke imperfect; and instead of higher eleuation, to leaue in the lowest region, wandring vpon the face of the earth and waters as it were a second sea, through which its owne beames cannot possibly pierce, vnlesse sometimes when the sudden violence of the winds doth helpe to scatter and breake through it; which thing happeneth very seldome, and when it happeneth is of no continuance. Some of our mariners in this voyage had formerly beene at Wardhouse, in 72 deg. of North latitude, who yet affirmed that they felt no such nipping cold there in the end of the Summer, when they departed thence, as they did here in those hottest moneths of Iune and Iuly.

And also from these reasons we coniecture, that either there is no passage at all through these

Northerne coasts (which is most likely), or if there be, that it is vnnauigable. Adde hereunto, that though we searched the coast diligently, cume vnto the 48 deg., yet found we not the land to trend so much as one point in any place towards the East, but rather running on continually North-west, as if it went directly to meet with Asia; and euen in that height, when we had a franke wind, to haue carried vs through, had there beene a passage, yet we had a smooth and calme sea, with ordinary flowing and reflowing, which could not haue beene had there been a strete; of which we rather infallibly concluded, then coniectured, that there was none. But to returne.

The next day [*June 18*], after our comming to anchor in the aforesaid harbour, the people of the countrey shewed themselues, sending off a man with great expedition to vs in a canow. Who being yet but a little from the shoare, and a great way from our ship, spake to vs continually as he came rowing on. And at last at a reasonable distance staying himselfe, he began more solemnely a long and tedious oration, after his manner: vsing in the deliuerie thereof many gestures and signes, mouing his hands, turning his head and body many wayes; and after his oration ended, with great shew of euerence and submission returned backe to shoare againe. He shortly came againe the second time in like manner, and so the third time, when he brought with him (as a present from the rest) a bunch of feathers, much like the feathers of a blacke crow, very neatly and artificially gathered vpon a string, and drawne together into a round bundle; being verie cleane and finely cut, and bearing in length an equall proportion one with another; a speciall cognizance (as wee afterwards obserued) which they that guard their kings person weare on their heads. With this also he brought a little basket made of rushes, and filled with an herbe which they called *Tabáh*. Both which being tyed to a short rodde, he cast into our boate. Our Generall intended to haue recompensed him immediately with many good things he would haue bestowed on him; but entring into the boate to deliuer the same, he could not be drawne to receiue them by any meanes, saue one hat, which being cast into the water out of the ship, he tooke vp (refusing vtterly to meddle with any other thing, though it were vpon a board put off vnto him) and so presently made his returne. After which time our boate could row no way, but wondring at vs as at gods, they would follow the same with admiration.

The 3 day following, viz., the 21, our ship hauing receiued a leake at sea, was brought to anchor neerer the shoare, that, her goods being landed, she might be repaired; but for that we were to preuent any danger that might chance against our safety, our Generall first of all landed his men, with all necessary prouision, to build tents and make a fort for the defence of our selues and goods: and that wee might vnder the shelter of it with more safety (what euer should befall) end our businesse; which when the people of the countrey perceiued vs doing, as men set on fire to war in defence of their countrey, in great hast and companies, with such weapons as they had, they came downe vnto vs, and yet with no hostile meaning or intent to hurt vs: standing, when they drew neere, as men rauished in their mindes, with the sight of such things as they neuer had scene or heard of before that time: their errand being rather with submission and feare to worship vs as Gods, then to haue any warre with vs as with mortall men. Which thing, as it did partly shew itselfe at that instant, so did it more and more manifest itself afterwards, during the whole time of our abode amongst them. At this time, being willed by signes to lay from them their bowes and arrowes, they did as they were directed, and so did all the rest, as they came more and more by companies vnto them, growing in a little while to a great number, both of men and women.

To the intent, therefore, that this peace which they themselues so willingly sought might, without any cause of the breach thereof on our part given, be continued, and that wee might with more safety and expedition end our businesses in quiet, our Generall, with all his company, vsed all meanes possible gently to intreate them, bestowing vpon each of them liberally good and necessary things to couer their nakedness; withall signifying vnto them we were no Gods, but men, and had neede of such things to couer our owne shame; teaching them to vse them to the same ends, for which cause also wee did eate and drinke in their presence, giuing them to vnderstand that without that wee could not liue, and therefore were but men as well as they.

Notwithstanding nothing could perswade them, nor remouue that opinion which they had conceived of vs, that wee should be Gods.

In recompence of those things which they had receiued of vs, as shirts, linnen cloth, etc., they bestowed vpon our Generall, and diuerse of our company, diuerse things, as feathers, cawles of

networke, and quiuers of their arrowes, made of fawne skins, and the very skins of beasts that their women wore vpon their bodies. Hauing thus had their fill of this times visiting and beholding of vs, they departed with ioy to houses, which houses are digged round within the earth, and haue from the vppermost brimmes of the circle clefts of wood set vp, and ioyned close together at the top, like our spires on the steeple of a Church; which being couered with earth, suffer no water to enter, and are very warme; the doore in the most part of them performes the office also of a chimney to let out the smoake; its made in bignesse and fashion like to an ordinary scuttle in a ship, and standing slopewise: their beds are the hard ground, onely with rushes strewed vpon it, and lying round about the house, haue their fire in the middest, which by reason that the house is but low vaulted, round, and close, giueth a maruelous reflexion to their bodies to heate the same.

Their men for the most part goe naked; the women take a kinde of bulrushes, and kemming it after the manner of hemp, make themselues thereof a loose garment, which being knitte about their middles, hangs downe about their hippes, and so affordes to them a couering of that which nature teaches should be hidden; about their shoulders they weare also the skin of a deere, with the haire vpon it. They are very obedient to their husbands, and exceedingly ready in all seruices; yet of themselues offering to do nothing, without the consents or being called of the men.

As soone as they were returned to their houses, they began amongst themselues a kind of most lamentable weeping and crying out; which they continued also a great while together, in such sort that in the place where they left vs (being neere about 3 quarters of an English mile distant from them) we very plainly, with wonder and admiration, did heare the same, the women especially extending their voices in a most miserable and dolefull manner of shrieking.

Notwithstanding this humble manner of presenting themselues, and awfull demeanour vsed towards vs, we thought it no wisdom too farre to trust them (our experience of former Infidels dealing with vs before, made vs carefull to prouide against an alteration of their affections or breach of peace if it should happen), and therefore with all expedition we set vp our tents, and intrinched ourselues with walls of stone; that so being fortified within ourselues, we might be able to keepe off the enemy (if they should so proue) from comming amongst vs without our good wills: this being quickly finished, we went the more cheerefully and securely afterward about our other businesse.

Against the end of two daies (during which time they had not againe beene with vs), there was gathered together a great assembly of men, women, and children (inuitied by the report of them which first saw vs, who, as it seems, had in that time of purpose dispersed themselues into the country, to make knowne the newes), who came now the second time vnto vs, bringing with them, as before had beene done, feathers and bagges of *Tobáh* for presents, or rather indeed for sacrifices, vpon this perswasion that we were gods.

When they came to the top of the hill, at the bottome where of wee had built our fort, they made a stand; where one (appointed as their chiefe speaker) wearied both vs his hearers, and himselfe too, with a long and tedious oration; deliuered with strange and violent gestures, his voice being extended to the vttermost strength of nature, and his wordes falling so thicke one in the necke of another, that he could hardly fetch his breath againe: as soon as he had concluded, all the rest, with a reuerend bowing of their bodies (in a dreaming manner, and long producing of the same) cryed *Oh*: thereby giuing their consents that all was very true which he had spoken, and that they had vttered their minde by his mouth vnto vs; which done, the men laying downe their bowes vpon the hill, and leauing their women and children behinde them, came downe with their presents; in such sort as if they had appeared before a God indeed, thinking themselues happy that they might haue accesse vnto our Generall, but much more happy when they sawe that he would receiue at their hands those things which they so willingly had presented: and no doubt they thought themselues neerest vnto God when they sate or stood next to him. In the meane time the women, as if they had beene desperate, vsed vnnatural violence against themselues, crying and shrieking piteously, tearing their flesh with their nailes from their cheekes in a monstrous manner, the blood streaming downe along their brests, besides despoiling the vpper parts of their bodies of those single couerings they formerly had, and holding their hands aboue their heads that they might not rescue their brests from harme, they would with furie cast themselues vpon the ground, neuer respecting whether it were cleane or soft, but dashed themselues in this manner on hard stones, nobby hillocks, stocks of wood, and pricking bushes, or whateuer else lay in their way, tterating the same course againe and againe, yea women great with child, some

nine or ten times each, and others holding out till 15 or 16 times (till their strengths failed them) exercised this cruelty against themselves: a thing more grievous for vs to see or suffer, could we haue holpe it, then trouble to them (as it seemed) to do it. This bloudie sacrifice (against our wils) beeing thus performed, our Generall, with his companie, in the presence of those strangers, fell to prahers; and by signes in lifting vp our eyes and hands to heauen, signified vnto them that that God whom we did serue, and whom they ought to worship, was about: beseeching God, if it were his good pleasure, to open by some meanes their blinded eyes, that they might in due time be called to the knowledge of him, the true and euerliuing God, and of Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, the saluation of the Gentiles. In the time of which prayers, singing of Psalmes, and reading of certaine Chapters in the Bible, they sate very attentiuely: and obseruing the end at euery pause, with one voice still cried, Oh, greatly reioycing in our exercises. Yea they tooke such pleasure in our singing of Psalmes, that whensoever they resorted to vs, their first request was commonly this, *Gnádih*, by which they intreated that we would sing.

Our Generall hauing now bestowed vpon them diuers things, at their departure they restored them all againe, none carrying with him anything of whatsoeuer hee had receiued, thinking themselves sufficiently enriched and happie that they had found so free access to see vs.

Against the end of three daies more (the newes hauing the while spread itselfe farther, and as it seemed a great way vp into the countrie), were assembled the greatest number of people which wee could reasonably imagine to dwell within any conuenient distance round about. Amongst the rest the king himselfe, a man of goodly stature and comely personage, attended with his guard of about 100 tall and warlike men, this day, viz., June 26, came downe to see vs.

Before his comming, were sent two embassadors or messengers to our Generall, to signifie that their *Hióh*, that is, their king, was comming and at hand. They in the deliury of their message, the one spake with a soft and low voice, prompting his fellow; the other pronounced the same, word by word, after him with a voice more audible, continuing their proclamation (for such it was) about halfe an houre. Which being ended, they by signes made request to our Generall, to send something by their hands to their *Hióh* or king, as a token that his comming might be in peace. Our Generall willingly satisfied their desire; and they, glad men, made speedy returne to their *Hióh*. Neither was it long before their king (making as princely a shew as possibly he could) with all his traine came forward.

In their comming forwards, they cryed continually after a singing manner, with a lustie courage. And as they drew neerer and neerer towards vs, so did they more and more strue to behaue themselves with a certaine comelinesse and grauity in all their actions.

In the forefront came a man of a large body and goodly aspect, bearing the Scepter or royall mace, made of a certaine kind of blacke wood, (and in length about a yard and a halfe) before the king. Whereupon hanged two crownes, a bigger and a lesse, with three chaines of a maruellous length, and often doubled, besides a bagge of the herb *Tabáh*. The crownes were made of knitworke, wrought vpon most curiously with feathers of diuers colours, very artificially placed, and of a formall fashion. The chaines seemed of a bony substance, euery linke or part thereof being very little, thinne, most finely burnished, with a hole pierced through the midst. The number of linkes going to make one chaine, is in a manner infinite; but of such estimation it is amongst them, that few be the persons that are admitted to weare the same; and euen they to whom its lawfull to use them, yet are stinted what number they shall vse, as some ten, some twelue, some twentic, and as they exceed in number of chaines, so thereby are they knowne to be the more honorable personages.

Next vnto him that bare this Scepter, was the king himselfe with his guard about him; his attire vpon his head was a cawle of knitworke, wrought vpon somewhat like the crownes, but differing much both in fashion and perfectnesse of worke; vpon his shoulders he had on a coate of the skins of conies, reaching to his wast; his guard also had each coats of the same shape, but of other skins; some hauing cawles likewise stucke with feathers, or couered ouer with a certaine downe, which groweth vp in the country vpon an herbe much like our lecture, which exceeds any other downe in the world for finenesse, and beeing layed vpon their cawles, by no winds can be remoued. Of such estimation is this herbe amongst them, that the downe thereof is not lawfull to be worne, but of such persons as are about the king (to whom also it is permitted to weare a plume of feathers on their heads, in signe of honour), and the seeds are not vsed but onely in sacrifice to their gods. After these, in their order, did follow the naked sort of common people, whose

haire being long, was gathered into a bunch behind, in which stucke plumes of feathers; but in the forepart onely single feathers like hornes, euery one pleasing himselfe in his owne deuice.

This one thing was obserued to bee generall amongst them all, that euery one had his face painted, some with white, some blacke, and some with other colours, euery man also bringing in his hand one thing or other for a gift or present. Their traine or last part of their company consisted of women and children, each woman bearing against her breast a round basket or two, hauing within them diuers things, as bagges of *Tobáh*, a roote which they call *Petáh*, whereof they make a kind of meale, and either bake it into bread, or eate it raw; broyled fishes, like a pilchard; the seede and downe aforementioned, with such like.

Their baskets were made in fashion like a deep boale, and though the matter were rushes, or such other kind of stuffe, yet was it so cunningly handled, that the most part of them would hold water: about the brimmes they were hanged with peeces of the shels of pearles, and in some places with two or three linkes at a place, of the chaines forenamed: thereby signifying that they were vessels wholly dedicated to the onely vse of the gods they worshipped; and besides this, they were wrought vpon with the matted downe of red feathers, distinguished into diuers workes and formes.

In the meane time, our Generall hauing assembled his men together (as forecasting the danger and worst that might fall out) prepared himselfe to stand vpon sure ground, that wee might at all times be ready in our owne defence, if any thing should chance otherwise than was looked for or expected.

Wherefore euery man being in a warlike readinesse, he marched within his fenced place, making against their approach a most warlike shew (as he did also at all other times of their resort), whereby if they had bene desperate enemies, they could not haue chosen but haue conceived terrour and fear, with discouragement to attempt anything against vs, in beholding of the same.

When they were come somewhat neere vnto vs, trooping together, they gaue vs a common or generall salutation, obseruing in the meane time a generall silence. Whereupon, he who bare the Scepter before the king, being prompted by another whom the king assigned to that office, pronounced with an audible and manly voice what the other spake to him in secret, continuing, whether it were his oration or proclamation, at the least halfe an houre. At the close whereof there was a common *Amen*, in signe of approbation, giuen by euery person: and the king himselfe, with the whole number of men and women (the little children onely remaining behind) came further downe the hill, and as they came set themselues againe in their former order.

And being now come to the foot of the hill and neere our fort, the Scepter bearer, with a composed countenance and stately carriage began a song, and answerable thereunto obserued a kind of measures in a dance; whom the king with his guard and euery other sort of person following, did in like manner sing and daunce, sauing onely the women, who danced but kept silence. As they danced they still came on: and our Generall perceiuing their plaine and simple meaning, gaue order that they might freely enter without interruption within our bulwarke. Where, after they had entred, they yet continued their song and dance a reasonable time, their women also following them with their wassaile boales in their hands, their bodies bruised, their faces torne, their dugges, breasts, and other parts bespotted with bloud, trickling downe from the wounds, which with their nailes they had made before their comming.

After that they had satisfied, or rather tired themselues in this manner, they made signes to our Generall to haue him sit down; unto whom both the king and diuers others made seuerall orations, or rather, indeed, if wee had vnderstood them, supplications, that hee would take the Prouince and kingdome into his hand, and become their king and patron: making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title in the whole land, and become his vassals in themselues and their posterities: which that they might make vs indeed beleue that it was their true meaning and intent, the king himselfe, with all the rest, with one consent and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, set the crowne vpon his head, enriched his necke with all their chaines, and offering vnto him many other things, honoured him by the name of *Hyóh*. Adding thereunto (as it might seeme) a song and dance of triumph; because they were not onely visited of the gods (for so they still iudged vs to be), but the great and chiefe God was now become their God, their king and patron, and themselues were become the onely happie and blessed people in the world.

These things being so freely offered, our Generall thought not meet to reiect or refuse the

same, both for that he would not giue them any cause of mistrust or disliking of him (that being the onely place, wherein at this present, we were of necessitie inforced to seeke reliefe of many things), and chiefly for that he knew not to what good end God had brought this to passe, or what honour and profit it might bring to our countrie in time to come.

Wherefore, in the name and to the vse of her most excellent maiesty, he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignity of the sayd countrie into his hand; wishing nothing more than that it had layen so fitly for her maiesty to enjoy, as it was now her proper owne, and that the riches and treasures thereof (wherewith in the vpland countries it abounds) might with as great conueniency be transported, to the enriching of her kingdome here at home; as it is in plenty to be attained there; and especially that so tractable and louing a people as they shewed themselves to be, might haue meanes to haue manifested their most willing obedience the more vnto her, and by her meanes, as a mother and nurse of the Church of *Christ*, might by the preaching of the Gospell, be brought to the right knowledge and obedience of the true and euerliuing God.

The ceremonies of this resigning and receiuing of the kingdome being thus performed, the common sort, both of men and women, lauing the king and his guard about him, with our Generall, dispersed themselves among our people, taking a diligent view or suruey of euery man; and finding such as pleased their fancies (which commonly were the youngest of vs), they presently enclosing them about offered their sacrifices vnto them, crying out with lamentable shreeces and moanes, weeping and scratching and tearing their very flesh off their faces with their nailes; neither were it the women alone which did this, but euen old men, roaring and crying out, were as violent as the women were.

We groaned in spirit to see the power of Sathan so farre preuaile in seducing these so harmelesse soules, and laboured by all meanes, both by shewing our great dislike, and when that serued not, by violent withholding of their hands from that madnesse, directing them (by our eyes and hands lift vp towards heauen) to the liuing God whom they ought to serue; but so mad were they vpon their Idolatry, that forcible withholding them would not preuaille (for as soone as they could get liberty to their hands againe, they would be as violent as they were before) till such time, as they whom they worshipped were conueyed from them into the tents, whom yet as men besides themselves, they would with fury and outrage seeke to haue againe.

After that time had a little qualified their madnes, they then began to shew and make knowne vnto vs their griefes and diseases which they carried about them; some of them hauing old aches, some shrunk sinewes, some old soares and canchred vlcers, some wounds more lately receiued, and the like; in most lamentable manner crauing helpe and cure thereof from vs; making signes, that if we did but blowe vpon their griefes, or but touched the diseased places, they would be whole.

Their griefes we could not but take pitty on them, and to our power desire to helpe them: but that (if it pleased God to open their eyes) they might vnderstand we were but men and no gods, we vsed ordinary meanes, as lotions, emplaisters, and vnguents, most fitly (as farre as our skills could guesse) agreeing to the natures of their griefes, beseeching God, if it made for his glory, to giue cure to their diseases by these meanes. The like we did from time to time as they resorted to vs.

Few were the dayes, wherein they were absent from vs, during the whole time of our abode in that place; and ordinarily euery third day they brought their sacrifices, till such time as they certainly vnderstood our meaning, that we tooke no pleasure, but were displeased with them; whereupon their zeale abated, and their sacrificing, for a season, to our good liking ceased; notwithstanding they continued still to make their resort vnto vs in great abundance, and in such sort, that they oftentimes forgate to prouide meate for their owne sustenance; so that our Generall (of whom they made account as of a father) was faine to performe the office of a father to them, relieuing them with such victualls as we had prouided for our selues, as Muscles, Seales, and such like, wherein they tooke exceeding much content; and seeing that their sacrifices were displeasing to vs, yet (hating ingratitude) they sought to recompence vs with such things as they had, which they willingly inforced vpon vs, though it were neuer so necessarie or needfull for themselves to keepe.

They are a people of a tractable, free, and louing nature, without guile or treachery; their bowes and arrowes (their only weapons, and almost all their wealth) they vse very skillfully, but

yet not to do any great harme with them, being by reason of their weakenesse more fit for children then for men, sending the arrowes neither farre off nor with any great force: and yet are the men commonly so strong of body, that that which 2 or 3 of our men could hardly beare, one of them would take vpon his backe, and without grudging carrie it easily away, vp hill and downe hill an English mile together: they are also exceeding swift in running, and of long continuance, the vse whereof is so familiar with them, that they seldome goe, but for the most part runne. One thing we obserued in them with admiration, that if at any time they chanced to see a fish so neere the shoare that they might reach the place without swimming, they would neuer, or very seldome, misse to take it.

After that our necessary businesses were well dispatched, our Generall, with his gentlemen and many of his company, made a journey vp into the land, to see the manner of their dwelling, and to be better acquainted with the nature and commodities of the country. Their houses were all such as we haue formerly described, and being many of them in one place, made seuerall villages here and there. The inland we found to be farre different from the shoare, a goodly country, and fruitful soyle, stored with many blessings fit for the vse of man: infinite was the company of very large and fat Deere which there we sawe by thousands, as we supposed, in a heard; besides a multitude of a strange kinde of Conies, by farre exceeding them in number: their heads and bodies, in which they resemble other Conies, are but small; his tayle, like the tayle of a Rat, exceeding long; and his feet like the pawes of a Want or moale; vnder his chinne, on either side, he hath a bagge, into which he gathereth his meate, when he hath filled his belly abroade, that he may with it, either feed his young, or feed himselfe when he lists not to trauaile from his burrough; the people eat their bodies, and make great account of their skinnnes, for their kings holidiaies coate was made of them.

This country our Generall named *Albion*, and that for two causes; the one in respect of the white bancks and cliffes, which lie toward the sea; the other, that it might haue some affinity, euen in name also, with our own country, which was sometime so called.

Before we went from thence, our Generall caused to be set vp a monument of our being there, as also of her maiesties and successors right and title to that kingdome; namely a plate of brasse, fast nailed to a great and firme post; whereon is engrauen her graces name, and the day and yeare of our arriuall there, and of the free giuing vp of the prouince and kingdome, both by the king and people, into her maiesties hands: together with her highnesse picture and armes, in a piece of sixpence currant English monie, shewing itselfe by a hole made of purpose through the plate; vnderneath was likewise engrauen the name of our Generall, etc.

The Spaniards neuer had any dealing, or so much as set a foote in this country, the vtmost of their discoueries reaching onely to many degrees Southward of this place.

And now, as the time of our departure was perceiued by them to draw nigh, so did the sorrowes and miseries of this people seeme to themselues to increase vpon them, and the more certaine they were of our going away, the more doubtfull they shewed themselues what they might doe; so that we might easily iudge that that ioy (being exceeding great) wherewith they receiued vs at our first arriuall, was cleane drowned in their excessiue sorrow for our departing. For they did not onely loose on a sudden all mirth, ioy, glad countenance, pleasant speeches, agility of body, familiar reioycing one with another, and all pleasure what euer flesh and blood might bee delighted in, but with sighes and sorrowings, with heauy hearts and grieved minds, they powred out wofull complaints and moanes, with bitter teares and wringing of their hands, tormenting themselues. And as men refusing all comfort, they onely accounted themselues as cast-awayes, and those whom the gods were about to forsake: so that nothing we could say or do, was able to ease them of their so heauy a burthen, or to deliuer them from so desperate a strait, as our leauing of them did seeme to them that it would cast them into.

Howbeit, seeing they could not still enioy our presence, they (supposing vs to be gods indeed) thought it their duties to intreate vs that, being absent, we would yet be mindfull of them, and making signes of their desires that in time to come wee would see them againe, they stole vpon vs a sacrifice, and set it on fire erre we were aware, burning therein a chaine and a bunch of feathers. We laboured by all meanes possible to withhold or withdraw them, but could not preuaile, till at last we fell to prayers and singing of Psalmes, whereby they were allured immediately to forget their folly, and leaue their sacrifice vnconsumed, suffering the fire to go out; and imitating vs in all our actions, they fell a lifting of their eyes and hands to heauen, as they saw vs do.

The 23. of Iuly they tooke a sorrowfull farewell of vs, but being loath to leaue vs, they presently ranne to the top of the hils to keepe vs in their sight as long as they could, making fires before and behind, and on each side of them, burning therein (as is to be supposed) sacrifices at our departure.

Not farre without this harborough did lye certaine Ilands (we called them the Ilands of Saint James), hauing on them plentifull and great store of Seales and birds, with one of which wee fell Iuly 24, whereon we found such prouision as might competently serue our turne for a while. We departed againe the day next following, viz., Iuly 25. And our Generall now considering that the extremity of the cold not only continued, but increased, the Sunne being gone farther from vs, and that the wind blowing still (as it did at first) from the Northwest, cut off all hope of finding a passage through these Northern parts, thought it necessary to loose no time; and therefore with generall consent of all, bent his course directly to runne with the Ilands of the Moluccas. And so hauing nothing in our view but aire and sea, without sight of any land for the space of full 68. dayes, together, wee continued our course through the maine Ocean, till September 30. following, on which day we fell in kenne of certaine Ilands, lying about eight degrees to the Northward of the line.

III. The “Anonymous Narrative”

The author of the so-called “Anonymous Narrative” has not been identified, but he may have been one of the gentlemen who accompanied Drake on his voyage. Written in the third person, the account may have been compiled from notes taken from a verbal account of the voyage. The date of the manuscript is unknown, but it was probably written after the expedition’s return to England. The yet-to-be-corrected latitudes given for the west coast of North America suggest a date before 1588. Richard Hakluyt and historian William Camden may have relied in part on this account for their own narratives. The manuscript is located in Harleian Manuscript No. 280, Folio 22, in the British Museum and the text below is quoted from Henry R. Wagner, Sir Francis Drake’s Voyage Around the World (Berkeley, 1926).

... and here [Gatulco, Mexico] drake watered his ship & departed sayling northwardes till he came to .48. gr. of the septentrionall Latitud still finding a very lardge sea trending toward the north but being afraid to spend long time in seeking for the straite hee turned back againe still keping along the cost as nere land as hee might, vntill hee came to .44. gr. and then hee found a harborow for his ship where he grounded his ship to trim her, & heere came downe vnto them many of ye contrey people while they wer graving of their ship and had conference with them by synes, in this place drake set vp a greate post and nayled thereon a vjd, which the contrey people wooshipped as if it had bin god also he nayled vpon this post a plate of lead and scratched therein the Quenes name, and when they had graved & watred their ship in the latter end of August they set sayle and bent their course .S.S.W. and had not the sight of land againe till ye latter end of november at which time they had sight of one of the Iles of Molucca, . . .

IV. The Narrative of N. de Morena

The following account was published by Father Jeronimo de Zárate Salmeron in his “Relation of Events in California and New Mexico up to 1626,” and was translated and published in The Land of Sunshine, February, 1900. The brackets in the text are those of the original translator who assumed that the word paraje in the text, meaning place or residence, is a misprint for pasaje, meaning passage or strait.

The Father Fray Antonio de la Ascensión, a friar of the Barefoot Carmelites, one of the three who went with Sebastian Vizcaino to the discovery of Cape Mendocino, gave me this narrative as a thing secure, wherefore I put his name here; and he says:

A foreign pilot, named N. de Morena, who steered the Englishman from the sea of the North [the Atlantic] to that of the South [the Pacific] through the strait of Anian, gave this narrative to Captain Rodrigo del Rio, Governor that then was of New Galicia. When the Captain Francisco

Draque [Francis Drake] returned to his country, this pilot—who had come emerging from the Strait in his company—was very sick, and more dead than alive; and to see if the airs of the land would give him life, as a dead thing they put him ashore. The which [pilot] in a few days recovered health and walked through that land for the space of four years. He came forth to N.M., and from there to Santa Barbara [in Chihuahua], and then passed to the mines of Sombrerete in search of said Rodrigo del Rio. And the said pilot recounted to him the following:

Having given a long narrative of his much wandering, he told him how the said Englishman, Francis Drake, in the passage [text: *paraje*, stopping place; apparently a misprint for *pasaje*] of the Strait of Anian, had put him ashore, for the reason aforesaid, and that after he had recovered health he had travelled through divers lands, through many provinces, more than 500 leagues of mainland, until he came far enough to catch sight of an arm of the sea which divides the lands of New Mexico from another very great land which is on the side of the West. And on the coast of that sea were many and great settlements, among the which is a nation of white people, the which are accustomed to go horseback, and fight with lance and dagger. It is not known what nation this may be. The said Father Fray Antonio says he believes they are Muscovites. I say that when we see them we shall know who they are. This pilot told how this arm of the sea runs from north to south; and that it seemed to him it went on to the northward to connect with the harbor where the Englishman had put him ashore. And that on that sea coast he had seen many and good harbors and great inlets; and that from the point where they put him ashore he would venture to get to Spain in 40 days in a good ship's-tender; and that he must go to get acquainted with the Court of England. [Apparently quoting what Drake said to him.]

He offered himself to take the said Rodrigo del Rio to the passage [again *paraje*] of the arm of the sea which he discovered; and said that he could easily cross him over to the other side.

This arm of the sea is held to be an assured thing. It is that of the Gulf of California, called Mar Rojo [Red Sea]; and the land which is on the other side is that of the Californias. As they told me it, so I set it down, without quitting nor adding anything of my own part. [literally, of my house.]

V. The Account of Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño

By the late sixteenth century the Spanish had developed a healthy trade arrangement between settlements in Mexico and the Philippines, and it was with a calculating eye that they began to investigate the possibility of a triangular route with suitable sites on the coast of the North American continent. In March, 1594, Rodriguez Cermeño (alternatively, Zermenyo and Sermeño) sailed from Acapulco to the Philippines, and by the end of the year after an uneventful passage, he entered what is presently known as Drakes Bay. It was later reported that his vessel was soon wrecked by a storm in the bay. Following is the portion of Cermeño's own account of his voyage along the coast of Northern California. Most of the Cermeño documents, including signed and unsigned Declarations and witnessed statements, are to be found in the Archives in Seville. The following translation is by Henry Wagner and was published in the California Historical Society Quarterly, 3:12-15 (April, 1924).

"That night the wind came up strong from the northwest and the sea came on our beam, and from midnight on it blew so strong that it was necessary to strike the foresail. As the weather was severe, we kept getting near the land, and having reached it, a *morro* was discovered, which makes a high land and seemed like the Punta del Brazil of Tercera.

"Running along a musket-shot from the land, we saw a point which bore northwest, and entering by this we saw that there was a large bay. Here I went on casting the lead, with the bow headed north a quarter northeast, with the bottom of the sea of sand and clean, and went to seven fathoms, where I anchored. The point on the west side bore southwest quarter west, and the one on the east, south-southeast. The bay is very large and shaped like a horseshoe, and a river runs into it, and on the bar at high tide there are three fathoms of water, and from the bar outside to the entrance of the anchorage there is a distance of two shots of an arquebus.

"Having anchored in this bay, we saw in the middle of it three small islands which bore south-southwest, and to the south a small island of half a league in size. The islands trended northwest-

southeast. The land is bare. The river above referred to enters into the land three leagues and has a narrow mouth, while above in some parts it is a league in width, and in others a half a league. On the west side it has two branches of half a league each, and on the east side one, the entrance of which is a matter of a quarter of a league from the bar. Entering by this one, you will find fresh water on the right side, which comes from another river with a plentiful supply of water, and where this falls in there are Indians settled. They are well set up and robust with long hair, and go entirely naked, only the women wearing skirts of grass and deerskins. Any place where there are sandbanks near the sea you can find drinking water by digging down a little distance."

"Having anchored in this bay on the 6th, shortly an Indian, one of those living on the beach, came out in a small boat made of grass which looks like the bulrushes of the lake of Mexico. The Indian was seated in the middle of this, and he had in his hand an oar with two blades with which he rowed with great swiftness. He came alongside the ship, where he remained a good while, talking in his language without anyone understanding what he was saying. Being addressed with kind words, he came closer to the ship, and there we gave him things such as pieces of silk and cotton and other trifles which the ship carried, and with which he returned to shore very contented. The next day, the 7th, four other Indians came out to the ship in the same kind of boats. They came aboard and did the same as the first one.

"In order to see the character of the land and put in hand what was contemplated, namely, the building of a launch to prosecute the discovery, I sent in the ship's boat twenty-two men, seventeen of them armed with arquebuses and three with shields, and the ensign and the sergeant. I went ashore with it and landed on the beach, where I found near by many Indians—men, women, and children, who had their dwellings there. These were pits made in the sand and covered with grass, in the manner of the Chichimecos Indians. They had bows and arrows, and we could find no other kind of iron with which to cut a weapon or anything else. The people were painted in certain parts, although the paint is not so thick as with the Chichimecos.

"The land seems fertile as far as three leagues inland, according to what I saw and what the other Spaniards saw whom I took with me to seek food, of which there was need on account of the loss of the ship. The soil will return any kind of seed that may be sown, as there are trees which bear hazelnuts, acorns and other fruits of the country, madrones and fragrant herbs like those in Castile. There is also near where I went to seek food a branch of a river which runs into the sea, and near the camp are other arroyos of fresh water about two musket shots from the sea. There are also in the country a quantity of crabs and wild birds and deer, with which the people maintain their existence. And this is put down in the declaration, and I have knowledge of it as a person who twice went inland to seek food, as we had none.

"On Friday morning the 8th of December, we left the bay and port of San Francisco—or as its other name is, Bahía Grande—where we were shipwrecked. This bay is in $38\frac{2}{3}^{\circ}$, and the islands which are in the mouth (of the bay) are in $38\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and from one point of the bay to the other there may be a distance of twenty-five leagues. I passed near the islands and about a league more or less from the land; and this day I sailed about ten leagues and lay to during the following night. On the following day, which was the 9th, I coasted along the coast until sundown, when I anchored so as not to pass behind the point by night. Up to this point the coast runs northwest and southeast. I did not take the sun during the day because it did not appear; it was cloudy and there was much wind. During the day I travelled twenty-two leagues without discovering during the whole journey anything worthy of mention. Sailing close to the land and at times within a musket-shot of it, one could see it plainly, and that it was bare, like rough broken country, although above on the mountains there were some pine and oak trees. The land seemed to be unpopulated, as no people were seen on it in the day time, and at night there was no smoke nor fire.

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REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

The Higgins Library: A Window on Agricultural Technology

D. KUNITZ AND H. FONTES, *of the Shields Library of the University of California at Davis.*

The Higgins Library of Agricultural Technology housed in the Shields Library on the Davis campus of the University of California contains approximately 300,000 items related to every phase of the history of agriculture and agricultural technology. This collection was purchased in 1959 by the university from the noted agricultural journalist F. Hal Higgins. Part of the funds for the initial purchase of the library were provided by the International Harvester Company, Deere and Company, and Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Company.

Though the emphasis of the collection is worldwide, there is particular strength in material related to the United States and to California. Adequate material is presented to demonstrate the unique contribution California has made to agricultural technical advancement as well as to show the central role that agriculture has played in the West. And many subjects secondary to the history of agricultural technology are covered—business history, agricultural labor, civil engineering, Americana, Western history, agricultural customs.

The patron may work from the following definitive groupings of materials:

Manufacturers' Catalogs. Extensive files of company catalogs, manuals, parts books, and advertising items are available for agricultural machinery manufacturing companies in this country and abroad. Included are items representing companies that have either ceased to exist (Samson Iron Works, Yuba Manufacturing Company, John Lauson Tractor Company) or have merged with other companies (Holt Manufacturing Company, Oliver Corporation, Parlin and Orendorff Company). The National Agricultural Library, United States Department of Agriculture, has given to the Higgins collection its catalog grouping numbering nearly 12,000 items.

Photographs. The collection is particularly rich in photographs, photostats, and glass slides of antique and current models of agricultural machinery. There are 30,000 photo items covering the last sixty years of agrarian technical advancement.

House Organs. Complete and incomplete runs of house organs for many important American equipment manufacturing companies are included. *International Harvester World*, *The Furrow*, *Massey-Harris News*, *Allis-Chalmers Reporter*, *Case Eagle*, and *Caterpillar Magazine* are only examples.

Patent Literature. Patent literature from the British Patent Office and the U.S. Patent Office covering the late eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries is on hand.

Agricultural Periodicals. Available are such titles as the *Journal of the Agricultural Society of England*, *Farmer's Magazine*, *American Farmer*, *Prairie Farmer*, *American Journal of Agriculture*, *The Annual Register of Rural Affairs*, and *Farmer's Almanac*.

Monographs. Major technical authors such as Fred A. Crawshaw, J. Brownlee Davidson, Frank N. G. Kranick, Harry C. Ramsower, and Archie A. Wirt are represented in many early and rare imprints. The user is reminded that the Higgins Library strongly inter-relates with the University of California at Davis library's outstanding agricultural collection.

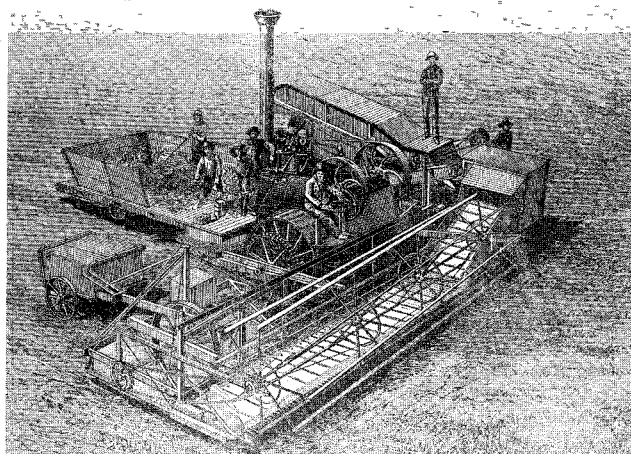
In addition, the Higgins Library is particularly rich in promotional literature, special company reports, company correspondence, clippings, diaries, biographies, sketches, posters, calendars, working drawings, advertising materials, and personal papers.

All these primary and secondary sources give the novice historian, the antique-tractor buff, the barbed-wire collector, the windmill technician, the old-engine fancier, and the scholar much evidence related to the "nuts and bolts" aspect of our agricultural heritage.

This California farmer used a simple John Deere plow to turn his soil after his corn had been cut. The elaborate trappings on the horses are fly nets.



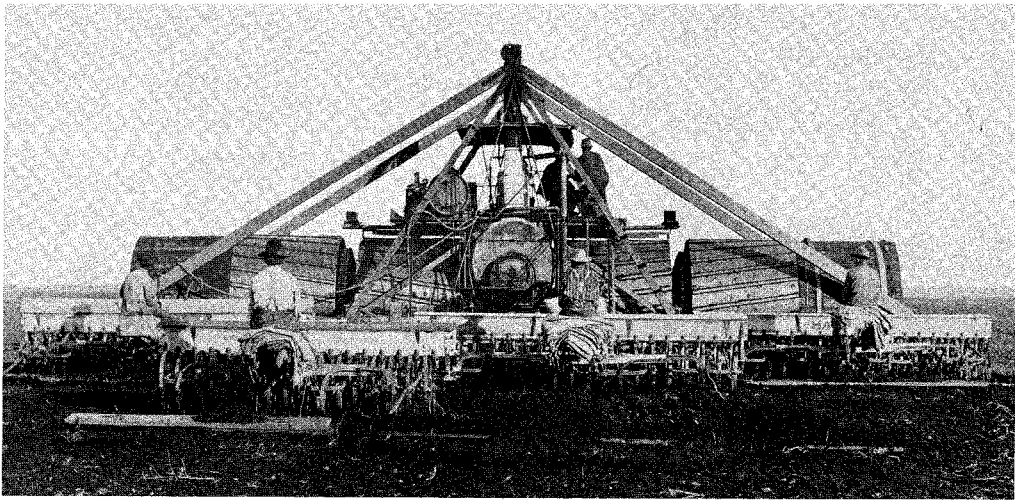
Shown in this 1886 lithograph is an ingenious self-propelled combine. The machine solved the fuel problem by pushing rather than pulling the combine, thus allowing its operators to feed the straw refuse from the grain into the firebox as fuel.

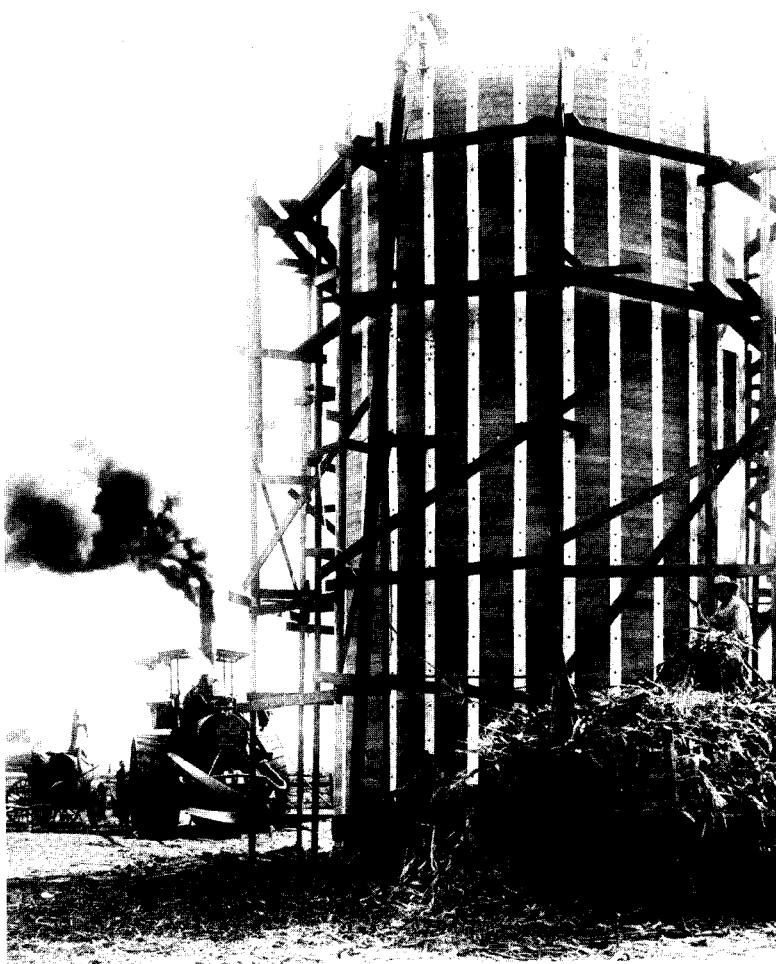


At right is a special Holt Manufacturing Company unit built at Stockton, California, in 1903 with six extra wide wheels to prevent it from miring in the soft land of the delta. The overall width of the tractor was almost 46 feet.

The entire family cooperated in working this combine (below) drawn by over twenty horses across a California wheat field in the 1880's.

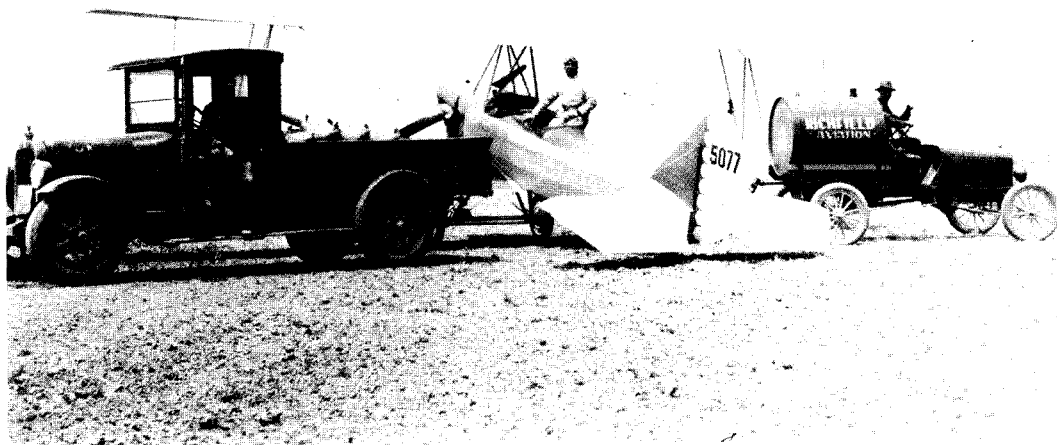






Parked behind the silo being filled with field-corn ensilage near Woodland, California, in 1918 is a popular steam tractor of the day.

In the late 1920's biplanes such as the one shown below being serviced seeded rice in the Central Valley.



California Check List

PETER EVANS, CHS librarian

The purpose of this list is to provide our readers with an on-going bibliography of recently published or soon-to-be-published Californiana. Major publishing firms' nationally-distributed products, small local history groups' limited editions, and individuals' efforts all are welcome. We ask only that the books or booklets concern the California scene and be recent publications (1972 or later, although some reprints will be accepted as space permits and significance demands).

We particularly desire to list publications which would not be well advertised elsewhere, works more likely to be publicized by word-of-mouth than by an organized publicity campaign. Hence, we are dependent to a considerable degree on the response of our readers. If you know of a recent unlisted publication on California, please notify the compiler of this check list. Be sure to include the following basic bibliographic data: author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price. If the item is a limited edition published by an individual or small group, be sure to give the address where the book can be purchased and any special ordering instructions. Send this information to Peter A. Evans, Librarian, California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson St., San Francisco, CA 94109. This listing in the *Quarterly* is, of course, free.

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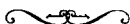
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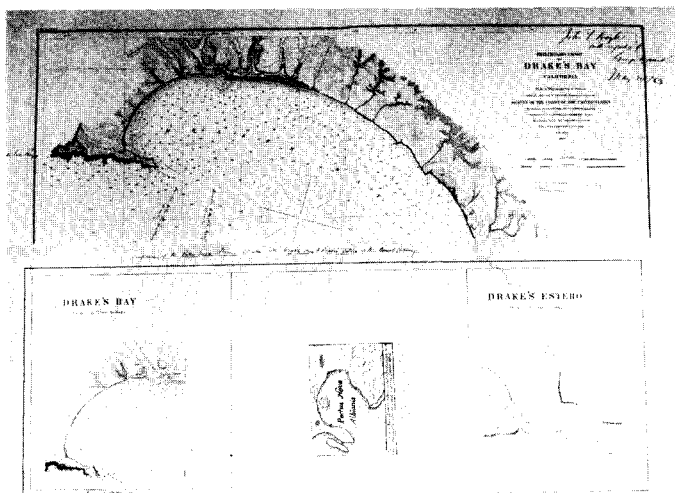
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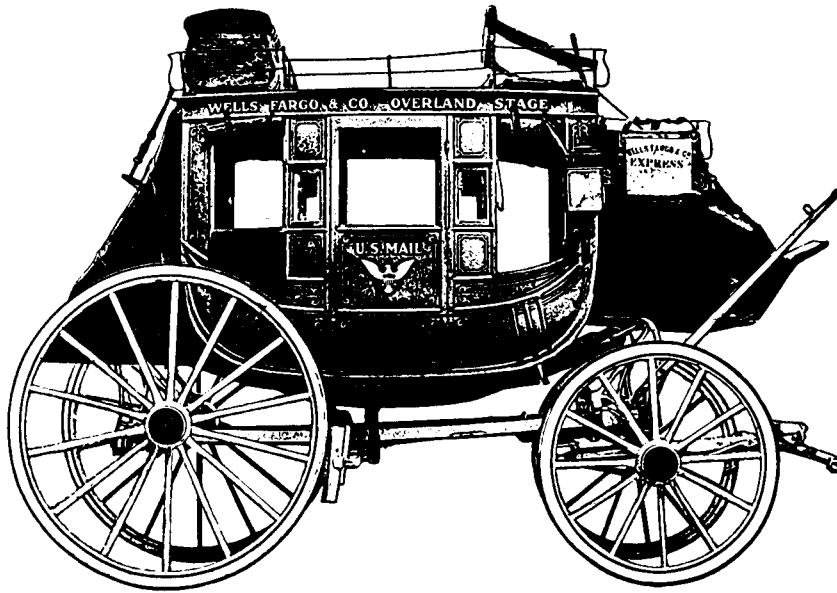
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